

HISTO

OFTHE

ARABIANS,

Under the GOVERNMENT of the

CALIPES,

FROM

IAHOMET, their FOUNDER,

Death of Mostazem, the fifty-fixth and last Abassian Caliph;

Containing the Space of Six Hundred Thirty-fix Years.

th Notes, Historical, Critical, and Explanatory:

Together with

GENEALOGICAL and CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES; and a complete INDEX to each V

BY THE

BBE DE MARI

Translated from the FRENCH,

W'h ADDITIONAL NOTES.

II FOUR VOIUMES

VOL. II.

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HISTORY

OF THE

ARABIANS,

Under the GOVFRNMENT of the

CALIPHS.

A L I.

The FOURTH CALIPH.

peared to be folely intent on making Hegyra. 35. conquests, and propagating and establishing their enthusiastic tenets by force of arms, through the whole extent of their dominions: But during the reign of the present Caliph, the scene will appear to be to-ally changed.

Though the Arabians were unanimous in professing the same religion, yet its influence was not so great as to prevent them from falling into seuds and animosities, and even from breaking out into open revolts: The same of sedition was f st lighted during the dministration of the infortunate Othman, Vol. II.

Ch ær. 63.5.

and the di urbances increased in the time of his successor. The Mussulmen pointed the fword at their own breasts: and thence arose a schism which being strengthened by time, still subsists among the followers of Mahomet.

Such intestine divisions might have intirely overthrown their weak and infant empire: but that mighty hand which at his pleasure dispenses crowns and kingdoms, protected that people in his wrath, and made them his instruments for punishing the shameful lives of the Greeks, and the wicked behaviour of the Christians.

Ali nominated Caliph clamations

The very day of Othman's death, the with great ac- whole city of Medina concurred in the choice of his fuccessor. They did not give themselves time to deliberate, but nominated Ali with the loudest acclamations.

As this illustrious Musfulman had formerly fought that dignity with the greatest eagerness, it might have been reasonably concluded he would have accepted it with the utmost pleasure; and yet when the deputies came to notify his election to him, he started many difficulties, declared he was not disposed to take charge of the Caliphate, and that he would rather serve in the capacity of a vizir, if he might be appointed to that office.

Upon this the deputies became more earnest in their intreaties, and expressed the sense and desires of the whole hation in such strong terms, that at last Als promised to comply; upon condition, however, that he should be appointed

appointed in a full assembly of the electors; All. for he faid that they alone were invested with Ch. ær. 655. the right of chusing a Caliph, and that any other kind of election would be unconstitutional.

It was no more than prudence in Ali to observe all necessary formalities on that important occasion; since he would thereby prevent his enemies from disputing his election; which they would certainly have controverted had it been in any respect defective.

At this time there was a very strong party against Ali; among whom were Aïesha Mahomet's favourite wife, Tellah, and Zobeir. These were all his irreconcilable and implacable enemies, and in particular Aïesha, to whom he had done an ill office, which women never forgive *: and indeed she always shewed the most inveterate hatred to him;

^{*} Aiesha, though the best beloved, was not the most constant and faithful of Mahomet's wives. She was publickly talled in question for being guilty of adultery. Ali was so imprudent as to intermeddle in the affair and even to give evidence against her. Though Mahomet had sufficient cause to think her guilty, he wisely concealed his sentiments, and declated he thought the accufation was mere calumny; nay he even went farther, he proved it by a revelation which came very opportunely in about a month afterwards to clear up his doubts. It is contained at length in the 24th chapter of the Alcoran, intitled light, on account of the elucidtion it gives in so nice an affair. - See also the translation of the Koran by Sale, fol. 288-9, where the story that gave rise to this accusation is inserted at large: but it does not thereby appear that Ali had the least concern either in the accusation or prosecution; on the contrary, the charge is attributed to other persons who are here expressly named.

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and when a Caliph was to be elected, she had

so managed as to get him excluded.

Had Ali been opposed by no other enemy than Aïesha, he would have been hard put to it to secure himself from her intrigues and resentment: but Tellah and Zobeir, men of eminence among the Musfulmen, formed pretensions to the Caliphate and were supported by a pretty numerous party. A third pretender had also entered the lists, even in the life-time of the former Caliph, who had some hopes of succeeding, or at least of raising great disturbances, if they should refuse to elect him. It was the famous Moawiyah governor of Syria, who from the importance of his post, and by means of his immense treasures, might have occasioned the greatest troubles if they had given him cause of discontent.

Ali, who perfectly well knew the spirit and power of each of his opponents, was persuaded he should be capable of making head against them, if he could attain the throne; but he refused to ascend it by any other than the usual means, that he might obviate all pretences for disputing his election.

This reason induced him to require that the electors should assemble and proceed according to law. And they met accordingly. Tellah and Zobeir appeared as electors, and concurred with the rest in chusing Ali. Though they were his competitors, the unanimity of votes prevented them from shewing their discontent; besides, as Ali's party was the strongest

in Medina, they feared lest the ir habitants ALI. of that city should have punished them for Hegyra. 35 their opposition, before their friends could have been able to assist them.

So soon as the election was over, the principal men of Medina came to Ali's house, and there offered to take the oath of fealty to him; but the new Caliph declin d accepting of their allegiance in priva and desired that a ceremony of so much importance as the paying of homage, might be performed in open mosque, and in a full assembly of the people.

On the day appointed for that solemnity Ali went in the morning to the mosque, cloathed in a gown of thin cotton, a coarse turban upon his head, his slippers in one hand, and a bow in the other instead of a walking stick. The Musfulmen came in crowds to do home ge to their new sovereign; but Ali observing, before the ceremony began, that Tellah and Zobeir were not present, sent and desired they would come thither.

Upon their arrival Ali asked them if they disapproved of his election, or whether they honestly meant to take the oath of allegiance to him, for, he added, that if they had any objections to make, he was so far from being fond of the new dignity then offered him, that he would instantly decline it, and take the oath to either of them that would accept the government.

They both refused it, and assured the Caliph that far from being desirous of enjoying

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his

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his post, they would do all that lay in their h. ær. 655. power to make him easy in the possession of it, by swearing with the greatest sincerity and submission, to observe the duty which subjects owe to their fovereign.

> The whole affembly, and Ali in particular, knew what little credit was to be given to the protestations of these two Mussulmen, but no person expressed his distrust, and they pro-

ceeded to taking the oath.

At the very time the ceremony was performing, some person present openly made a smart observation, which plainly shewed what opinion they entertained of Tellah's fair promises. It is necessary to be observed that it was a custom among the Arabians for the vassal to give his right hand to the sovereign in token of homage. Tellah's right arm having been shortened by some wounds he' had received in battle, when he came to offer it to Ali, he could not reach so far as the others; which occasioned one of the by-standers to fay, that it was a bad fign, and like to prove but a lame kind of business that was begun with a lame hand. How far this presage was fulfilled, will appear from the sequel of Ali's history.

Tellah and Zobeir now joined together, and resolved on the Caliph's destruction; but before they proceeded to open force, they strove to draw him into some snare, and endeavoured to deprive him of his dependants,

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and fuch as seemed the most firmby attached to him.

In a short time after he had taken posses. Tellah and sion of the sovereign authority, they came Zobeir perto him, repeated their promises of obedience, suade Ali to and made him fresh offers of their service. avenge the death of Oth-After these general propositions, they entered man. into the particulars of what they thought necessary to be done in order to gain the hearts of the people. Amongst other things they infinuated that he ought to revenge the death of Othman, and they offered to affift him with the greatest zeal in that undertaking, wherein, they faid, the honour and dignity of his post was nearly concerned.

What answer soever Ali should give to their proposal, they expected it would equally tend to his destruction. If he had refused, the public would have been confirmed in the suspicions which had been artfully propagated that he had a confiderable share in the assassination of the Caliph. On the other hand, had he consented to punish the murderers and their accomplices, he would have incurred the hatred of all Othman's enemies, who were very numerous and powerful, and who, in order to avoid a profecution, might take such steps as would be highly prejudicial to him.

But Ali artfully eluded the difficulty. He Ali's answer. shewed a great inclination to punish Othman's atlassins; spoke of their conspiracy as the blackest attempt, and that it ought to be rigorously punished; but he at the same time represented B 4

AII Hegyra Ch. ær. 55.

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represented to them how impracticable it ra 35. would be, considering the great number of ær. 655. the malecontents, who had all approved of the assassination, and even advised it; that if he punished those who had dared to lift up their guilty hands against Othman, he must also of necessity inflict a most severe punishment on all the accomplices: which would not fail of exciting reat disturbances, and perhaps even a civil war, which might end in the ruin of the state.

> He added, however, that if they could point out to him those who had actually struck Othman the fatal blows, or would undertake to find them out, he would not be wanting on his part, and would take care to punish the guilty.

> As Tellah and Zobeir were unwilling to be personally engaged in so important a matter, they no longer institted on their proposal; and departed, in all appearance, satisfied with the Caliph's prudent conduct; but in fact not a little disconcerted that he had escaped the snare laid for him.

> The conduct of Ali, in striving at the begining of his reign to gain the affections of the people, and avoid every cause of disturbance, especially at a time when all the members of the state seemed but too much inclined to take violent measures, was most prudent. And had he afterwards behaved with the same caution and wisdom as he shewed in his answer relating to Othman's affassination, he might have

have reasonably hoped for success; but he soon changed his conduct: and that Caliph who Hegyra 35 was seemingly so circumspect in all his actions which might win the good will of his subjects, in the sequel took those very steps which unavoidably brought on a civil war.

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He resolved to take away the governments Ali resolves of provinces from all those persons that had to displace the governors been appointed by his predecessor. On this of provinces. design he conferred with Al-Mogeirah-ebn-Said, one of the chief men amongst the Arabians, who with great warmth represented to him that the project would end in his destruction; he earnestly intreated him not to be over hasty in an affair of such importance, and to wait at least till he was more firmly established in his government.

This advice did not please Ali, however he did not issue his orders so soon as he at first intended to have done. The next day Al-Mogeirah made him another visit, and the same matter having been again brought on the tapis, Ali shewed that he had still the same object in view, and he gave Al-Mogeirah to understand that he proposed shortly to put it in execution.

That Musfulman who had so earnestly dissuaded the Caliph from taking a step which in its consequences might be fatal to the state, and to Ali in particular, on a sudden changed his mind, and told him, that having maturely considered what had passed in their last conversation, he thought it would be best for Ali to

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proceed according to his own proposal; for by egyra 35. putting in places of trust persons he could rely ær. 655 on, he would doubtless firmly establish his authority, and cause it to be duly reverenced in all the provinces of the musulman empire.

In the midst of this conference Abdollahebn-Abbas chanced to come in, and Al-Mogeirah departing to leave them together, Ali acquainted Abdollah with his design to change the governors, and at the same time told him, that Al-Mogeirah had at first strongly opposed it; but that he had now altered his opinion, which was the cause of the visit he had just, paid him.

Abdollah, amazed to find that the Caliph was insensible of the dangerous snare that Musfulman had laid for him, told Ali, he ought to weigh hisscheme well before he put it in execution; that the first advice Al-Mogeirah had given him was good, and worthy a zealous citizen who had the tranquillity of the state, as well as of his sovereign at heart; but the last was the council of a traytor, who probably had some interest in raising disturbances in his country.

He added, that it was his opinion no changes should be made; and as he knew the Caliph had particularly in his eye Moawiyah, governor of Syria, he insisted on his being continued in his government; for as that Musfulman had a very strong party there, the difmissing him might occasion a general rising of

the

the people in his favour, and occasion the loss ALI. of that province.

Hegyra 3.5 Ch. ær. 6

Abdollah then told Ali that no trust was to be reposed in Tellah or Zobeir, for it was manifest they had traitorous designs, and he was fure if any insurrection should happen they would be the first to appe in arms against him; wherefore he advisee him to continue Moawiyah in his post till he was certain whether or not he would submit to his authority, " and then, says he, leave it to me to bring him from his house neck and heels, which I will do when ever you desire it."

These sage remonstrances had no effect on Hegyra 36. the obstinate Ali, who being bent on the ex-Ch. ær. 656. ecution of his purpose, imprudently dismissed all the governors, and by so extraordinary a change raised deadly sends in the state, which cattled him the greatest uneasiness during his

whole reign.

Thenew officers he sent out to the respective provinces were Othman-ebn-Hanif, who was ordered to Bassorah; Ammarah-ebn-Sahal to Cufah; Abdollah-ebn-Abbas to Arabia Fælix; Sahel-ebn-Hanif to Syria; and Saad-ebn-Kais to Egypt.

Of all these governors only one was permitted to take possession of his post; and if fome others entered on their government it was not effected without the greatest opposition. Amongst others, Sahel going to Syria, was stopped by a party of horse at Tabuk. The commandant knowing he had been appointed

ALI. Hegyra 36. Ch. ær. 636.

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pointed governor of Syria, so plainly declared to him how the people of that province stood affected, that he did not think proper to proceed any further. He was told hat if any besides Othman had sent him, he might go about his business. Sahel did not chuse to dispute the matier and forthwith returned to Medina.

Kais went into Egypt, where he was opposed by a party of the Othmanians, who refused to submit to Ali's government, till justice was done on the murderers of Othman. The inhabitants of Bassorah and Cufah, bestowed the like kind of treatment on their new governors, and would not even suffer them to enter their territories.

Abodllah established himself in Yaman, and was the only officer that succeeded; but this was attended with no very advantageous confequences; for Yali, who was governor there, by virtue of a commission from Othman, carried off all the money that was in the treafury, and hastening to Mecca delivered the treasure to Aïesha, Tellah and Zobeir.

Ali refuses to and Zobeir the governfor.

The two latter retired from the Caliph's give to Tellah court, on his refusal to employ them at the time he appointed new governors. The one ments they sue of them sued for the government of Cufah, the other for that of Bassorah (both which were places of very g eat importance) Ali who knew them too well to put any trust in them, gave them a denial softened by a complement, he told them that he had no body

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body about him of so great capacity as they, or with whom he could so properly consult Hegyra 36. in such emergencies as a new established government was likely to be exposed to. He added, that their abode at court should not be so much lost time to them, that he would take an opportunity of rewarding them in proportion to their merit and services.

Ali's promises produced no great effect upon the two Mussulmen. They plainly saw that the Caliph's design was to keep them near him, that he might be a witness to their conduct, and perhaps with a view to make them

responsible for such disturbances as might arise at Medina. However, for a time they concealed their sentiments; and so soon as they heard that Aïesha was gone to Mecca, they asked leave to go thither, on pretence of per-

forming the pilgrimage, which was granted. And there, in concert with the prophet's widow, they raised a formidable party, which the

Caliph vainly endeavoured to quell. The money which the governor of Yaman had brought them was of fingular use in keeeping up a correspondence, and gaining friends in

all parts, and so artfully did they conduct their plot, that in a short time all Syria broke out

into open revolt.

Amongst others they strirred up the Mota-They raise a zelites, that is to say the Seperatists; (by Ali. which appellation such as disputed Ali's election were distinguished.) And they having

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ALI. Hegyra 36. Ch ær. 656. by means of their emissaries procured the body of Othman to be taken out of the grave, and got possession of the bloody shirt which he wore when he was assassinated, they made a very advantageous use of it, sometimes it was spread on the pulvit of the mosques, when the people assembled there; and sometimes it was carried in the army as a banner during their march thro' the chief cities of Syria.

This bloody spectacle, daily exposed to open view, had a stronger effect than the most pathetic speeches. The Syrians, who were greatly indebted to Othman's munificence, in a fury took up arms to revenge the death of their benefactor; and only waited till the victim that was to be sacrificed to his memory

should be pointed out to them.

Ali applies to

Ali having received information of the Moawiyah to acknowledge transactions in that province, wrote to Moahim as Caliph. wiyah in very mild terms. Without mentioning the feuds he had raised in Syria, he only exhorted him to give a proof of obedience, by acknowledging him for Caliph, which he hoped he would the more readily resolve to do, as no illegal means had been used in his election, and as he had been chosen by the unanimous votes of the electors.

Moawiyah, who well knew how Ali was disposed towards him, was unmoved at his letter; he attributed the Caliph's moderation to his want of power; and to shew him how flightly he regarded his remonstrances, instead of returning him an answer, he insulted him

in the grossest manner. About three months All. after Othman's death, he called a messenger Hegyra 36. to whom he delivered a packet sealed up, and Ch. ær. 656.

to whom he delivered a packet sealed up, and directed thus: "Moawiyah to Ali." Then giving him private instructions, he sent him to Medina, together with Ali s messenger, whom he had detained till that time. According to his orders, he entered Medina in the evening, a time when in that hot climate the streets are the most frequented, for the

fake of enjoying the cool air.

When the courier entered the city, he carried the packet on the top of a staff, to inform the inhabitants that the governor of Syria had written to the Caliph. The arrival of that courier gave great pleasure to all such as were desirous of peace; they concluded he was ordered to make such a shew of the letter; and supposed it might contain some terms for an accomodation, which might put an end to all misunderstanding between the Caliph and Moawiyah.

The people therefore immediately thronged after him to know the contents of his meffage. Ali, on his part, was also very desirous of coming to terms with Moawiyah, and efpecially at a juncture when the slame of revolt was spreading with the greatest violence; but when he opened the letter he was greatly amazed to find it was only a blank paper, not so much as a word being written in it; which he rightly judged to be a token of the utmost



ALI. Hegyra 36. Ch. ær. 656.

defiance and contempt, which called for a speedy vengeance.

However, the Caliph had so much the mastery of his passions, as to shew no great change in his countenance; he even discoursed with the courier, and asked him what news in Syria. The messenger answered, that there were sixty thousand men in arms, who only waited for orders to begin their march. He added, that the first appearance of the insurrection was at Damascus, where they had set up Othman's bloody shirt as a standard, over the pulpit in the open mosque.

Ali, unable to contain himself at this relation, answered with great emotion, "Do they require the blood of Othman at my hands? I call God to witness I am not guilty of it, and hope he will assist me."

After so plain an information, a war in Syria was unavoidable. But whilst he was endeavouring to guard against a distant enemy, a party was formed even in Arabia, which was by so much the more formidable, as the famous Aïesha, the Caliph's inveterate enemy, was at the head of it. She was the main spring, and as it were, the soul of that conspiracy against Ali, and at her house the conspirators assembled to debate on such measures as were proper to be taken for securing the success of their plot. And there appeared, either personally or by deputies, the whole house of Ommiyah, who all concurred in the

the design of revenging the death of Othman, who was one of their family.

A L 1. Hegyra 36. Ch. ær. 656.

As to the Ommiyans they seemed to have some pretence to punish the Caliph for the death of their kinsman: they fir terely thought that Ali was the perpetrator of it; and no pains had been spared to confirm them in that belief. But in respect to Aïesha, Tellah, and Zobeir, who headed the conspiracy, their conduct in that juncture, was an effect of the basest treachery.

If we may rely on the testimony of Ebn Athir, an arabian writer, Aïesha and her two associates were the real contrivers of, or at least accomplices in Othman's affassination They alone deserved to have received the punishment due to so heinous a crime; but by an uncommon stretch of wickedness they contrived to throw the whole blame on Ali, that they might more surely destroy him. Such was the virtuous Aïesha, so highly boasted of by her countrymen, and so well known in the musualman history, by the title of the "mother of the faithful" which might furely have given her a dispensation from appearing as an accuser of any of her children, even though they had been fignally culpable; but it was certainly a most infamous piece of treachery first to commit a crime, and then to charge it upon another person, upon her fovereign, and if I may so express myself, upon the whole state, which was thereby exposed Vol. II.

ALI. Hegyra 36. Ch. ær. 656.

Different revolt.

to suffer all the ill consequences of furious and intestine divisions.

Their revolt having been agreed upon, noschemes for a thing remained but to fix on proper measures for carrying it into execution; to which end conferences were held at the house of Aïesha. That vindictive woman proposed they should forthwith march to Medina. She was for taking away the malady root and branch. Some others were of opinion that they ought to march into Syria, to join the numerous army which Moawiyah had raised in that province.

> These different opinions having been fully debated and maturely weighed, it was not thought proper to follow either of them. It was observed that almost all the inhabitants of Medina sided with the Caliph, and to fall on him there, would be attacking him in his strongest part. As to the march into Syria, it was said, that as Moawiyah was strong enough to maintain the possession of his government, they might safely leave to him the defence of that province.

> As the party did not come into either of these measures, a third was proposed; namely, to begin their operations of war in those parts where they might have the greatest prospect of success, and forthwith to seize some strong places. Tellah, who was at the meeting, proposed an expedition to Basorah, which he was of opinion they might easily become masters of, he having a good interest in that

city. This scheme was approved of, and the All. confederates were forthwith informed of it Hegyra 36. by proclamations made in the streets of Mecca, and by a circular letter, couched in the solutions the solutions.

"The mother of the faithful, Tellah, They affemand Zobeir are going in person to Basorah. ble their troops, and Whosoever therefore is desirous of desending march to-his religion, and fighting voluntarily to rewards Basorah. wenge the death of Othman, let him come, and if he has not the necessary conveniences for the journey, they shall be provided for him."

Their troops having been soon assembled, they prepared for their departure. Aïesha, mounted on a camel, headed the forces in their march from Mecca towards Basorah. When they arrived at a place called Jowab, A singular they halted some time to refresh the troops, event stops which step had like to have put an end to their march. expedition. The dogs of the village having gathered together, came running out, and barked at Aïesha for a considerable time. This event appeared to her to be so ill an omen, that she immediately asked, with great surprize, what was the name of the place; and having been informed that it was called Jowáb, she, quoting that versicle of the Koran which is often repeated in cases of imminent danger, . " My support is from God alone, in Alcoran, him do I trust, and unto him do I turn me." chap. 11th. declared she would not stir a step further, and prepared to dismount from her camel.

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A t 1. Hegyra 36. Ch. ær. 656. The chiefs being greatly alarmed at a refolution which would put an end to the enterprize, earnestly intreated her not to abandon them; but the longer she reslected on that accident, the less she seemed inclined to go forwards. She declared that she had heard the prophet say when he was traveling with his wives, "I wish I had known it, and they should have lodged within the barking of the dogs of Jowáb;" that Mahomet had also formerly declared to her, that one of his wives should at a certain time be barked at by the dogs of the same village; that she ought to take care of it, for she would then be in most imminent danger.

It was no easy matter to eradicate such a kind of prejudice from the mind of a woman who from her infancy had imbibed enthusiastic and superstitious notions: However the chief officers of the army, who were senfible of the ill consequences that might result from so unlucky an accident, endeavoured to quiet the apprehensions of Aïesha, by suborning some peasants, who, for the lucre of a little money, agreed to affert that it was a mistake to call their village Jowáb, for it had never been known by that name, and they agreed to give it another, which probably was not fo ill boding. Upon this they forthwith returned to Aïesha and informed her of the news. They even caused their witnesses to appear before her, who declared on their oath what they had promised to assert. But Aïesha

had not yet got over her fears, and she re- All. folved to lye all night at the village, that she Hegyra 36 might have time to consider what resolution she should come to.

Tellah and Zobeir, vexed to find that a stop was put to their march on account of such ridiculous difficulties, and knowing of how great importance it was to make the best use of their time (there being great cause to suspect that Ali would speedily march after them) contrived an expedient, which soon removed all obstacles. They previously instructed some horsemen of their army and sent them to a distance from the camp, who returned sull gallop, crying out quick, quick, yonder comes Ali and his troops.

This artifice succeeded. Fear of the pre-The revolters sent danger prevailed over all apprehensions appear before on account of the prediction; they all decamped in the greatest haste, and the superstitious Aïesha, nimbly leaping up on her camel, was soon foremost of the company, and led them on so briskly, that in a short time

they arrived in fight of Basorah.

They did not expect that the city would make any great resistance. Tellah, as has been said, held a correspondence there, and had raised a considerable party of malecontents who had very roughly treated Othman Ebn Hanif, when he came to take possession of the government of that city in the room of him who had been appointed by the last Caliph. Othman was therefore obliged to return

A L 1. Hegyra 36. Ch. ær. 656.

return to Medina; but as there were great divisions amongst the inhabitants, by means of the party that had declared for Ali, he was recalled On which he returned to Basorah, entered on the execution of his office, and strove to put an end to the sedition. In time, perhaps, he might have prevailed; but by the pernicious cabals of Tellah, a party was always kept up which would by no means agree to an accommodation.

The inhabitants are defeated.

When Aïesha appeared with her army before the city, the new governor marched out at the head of his troops to prevent them from investing the place; but as he was inferior in numbers to his enemies, he was defeated at the first onset; and having lost about forty of his men in the skirmish, he was taken prisoner. They treated him in the most outrageous manner. The Arabians had a great veneration for their beards, a greater injury could not (in their opinion) be done them than to cut them off: and Aïesha's party, that they might add a kind of torment to the injury, tore out by the roots, hair by hair, the beard and eyebrows of the unfortunate governor. They kept him prisoner during a short time, after which they fet him at liberty, as an example to all such as should dare to make resistance.

Ammár affembles the
Inhabitants
to found their
intentions.

Whilst Othman was in confinement, Ammár his deputy undertook the defence of the city, and prepared to face the enemy. But as he well knew that divisions reigned amongst

ALI. amongst the inhabitants of Basorah, he was first desirous to sound how they stood af- tray as 36. fected towards their countrymen who were come in an hostile manner to attack them,

He therefore called the inhabitants to the mosque to hold a consultation. One of them stood up and spoke in the following terms. "If these people come hither out of fear, they come from a country where a bird may be safe. If they make inquiry for the blood of Othman, we did not kill Othman: Wherefore take my advice, and send them back to the place from whence they came; for furely the cause of their coming hither is different from what they pretend."

That orator would probably have enlarged on the motives which he presumed had engaged Aïesha and her confederates to undertake that expedition; but the people did not give him time. So great a tumult arose that no measures could be resolved on; and thereby it was perceived, that the inhabitants were at great variance with each other.

In the mean time Aïesha and her train A deputation fent to Aïdrawing nearer the city, some of the most mo- esha. derate amongst the inhabitants went out to her, to know why she had raised such great disturbances in her own country. Aïesha, with a loud shrill voice, harrangued the deputies and all the rest of the inhabitants present in a long speech; but whether she did not express herself clearly, or whether paffion



A L 1. Hegyra 36. Ch. ær. 656.

passion prevented them from putting a proper construction on what she uttered, they differed in opinion touching her discourse. Some said she had spoken well, the opposite party gave them the lye; and from words they came to blows. But the combat was not very dangerous, for they only threw the gravel and pebbles at each other.

When the dispute was a little over, one of the Arabs approaching Aïesha, spoke to her in a very rational manner touching the step she had taken. "O mother of the faithful," faid he, "the murdering of Othman was a thing of less moment than thy coming out from thy house upon this cursed camel. God hath bestowed on thee a vail and a protection: but thou hast rent the vail, and set the protection at nought. The same persons that now are witnesses of thy quarrelling here, will also be witnesses of thy death. If thou camest to us of thine own accord, return back to thine own house; if thou wast brought hither by force, call for affistance; and thou shalt find Mussulmen enough to conduct thee home with all honour and fafety."

Another of the inhabitants, with design to upbraid the prophet's wife for having, against the modesty of her sex, put herself at the head of an army, came up to Tellah and Zobeir, and told them he perceived they had brought their mother with them, and asked if the officers and soldiers had not also

brought

brought their wives to accompany them

upon that expedition.

This reproach bore hard on Aiesha and Ch. ær. 656. all her retinue; who at the same time were battle befar from being pleased with the first ha-volters and rangue, though they had not even a plausi- the inhabible answer to give either to the one or the rah. other; insomuch that invectives soon ensued, which were followed by blows. The action was bloody, many being killed on each fide. The next day it was renewed, but the troops of Aïesha sustained the greatest loss.

It may be truly said, that hitherto the parties had fought without scarce knowing why. Some of the most dispassionate of the inhabitants of Basorah, demanded a suspension of arms till the return of the deputies they were about to send to Medina, to make a proper enquiry about the cause of the pre-

sent quarrel.

Aïesha and her adherents accepted the pro- The revolters posal of the inhabitants; but as the turbu- in vain atlent disposition of her adherents prevented the governor. them from remaining long inactive, they defigned to seize Basorah by surprize: and in order to forward the success of their intended enterprize, they proposed to get the person of the governor into their hands,

Othman Ebn Hanif, whom they had so injuriously treated at the first attack of Basorah, was still governor of that city, into which he retired after his enlargement, and which he was now preparing to defend in the best

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A L 1 Hegyra 36. Ch. ær. 656. best manner he could. To him they sent a messenger, requesting that he would come to their camp, in order to confer with Aïesha. But it may be reasonably supposed that considering the baseness of their late conduct, he had no inclination to put himself again into their power, by yielding to an invitation which he also concluded to be a fresh instance of their treachery. However it did not appear from the answer he returned, that he entertained the least suspicion of their design, for he alledged as a reason why he declined the conference, the convention that had been stipulated for a suspension of all hostilities on both sides, till the deputies should return.

Tellah and Zobeir, being highly vexed at missing their aim, resolved to make themselves amends by seizing the city itself, which they considered to be an important post that might serve their party as a place of arms.

They take the city. Taking advantage of a dark and tempestous night, they surprized the city, and lodged themselves in the mosque. Othman did prodigies of valour in attempting to dislodge them; but as he had not a sufficient number of troops, he was obliged to retreat. And the enemy, encouraged by success, pursued and pushed him very hard. The governor, who had but an handful of soldiers about him, for a long time defended himself with great bravery; but at last resistance became vain, and he was seized by the enemy.

So foon as he was taken prisoner, word was fent to Aïesha, to know which way she Hegyra 36. Would please to dispose of him. The first sentence she pronounced was death; but at the intercession of one of her attendants, who adjured her in the name of God, and the companions of the apostle, not to kill him,

the sentence was changed into forty stripes, and imprisonment.

So foon as full possession was taken of the new conquered city, Aïesha, together with Tellah and Zobeir, the leaders of the party, made their publick entry therein. They strove to gain the affections of the people, and to prevail on them unanimously to declare against Ali, whom they had devoted to destruction.

We shall now return to Medina, where Ali The Caliph was endeavouring to fix the inhabitants more firmly in his interest. He looked upon the rise up in his Medinians to be his firmest friends; for as defence. his election was the work of their hands, he expected they would exert themselves to support it. He made a speech to the people at a general assembly held in the mosque. He loudly and warmly declaimed against the pressumptuous designs of the rebels, who resused to acknowledge him as sovereign, and thereby manifestly controverted their right of conferring the crown. He exhorted them not to overlook so great an insult, and assured them



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that God would direct and help them in their affairs.

Though Ali was well beloved of the people, though they well knew he was fairly elected, and though he was allowed to be the best orator of the age, yet his harangue was far from having the desired effect. Instead of loud acclamations, and that readiness which he expected his friends would have shewn to take up arms without delay, and which was so necessary in order to prevent the spreading of the revolt; he had the mortification to find an universal silence and backwardness amongst them, the fear of a civil war seeming to have tyed up their tongues, as well as trozen their zeal for his cause.

Ziyád-ebn-Hantelah, a person of eminent rank and distinguished valour, was so moved at the indifference shewn by his countrymen, that he voluntarily stepped up to Ali and said, "Let whosoever will hold back, we will be forward."

This step of Ziyad made a strong impression upon the minds of the whole assembly. They were inwardly vexed that they had not shewn the same courage. Insensibly a murmur arose in behalf of the Caliph, and they seemed inclinable to join in his desence; but many of them were prevented by the reports which Aïesha and her party had artsully propagated touching the death of the last Caliph, not that they generally believed him to be guilty of so heinous a crime; but

the very imputation of it made them back- ALI. ward to declare in his favour.

Hegyr. 36. Ch. ar. 6,6.

But this impediment was soon removed. Two of the religious ansars, who were doctors of the mussulman law, and held in great esteem on account of the integrity of their lives, stood up in the midst of the assembly, and loudly pronounced that "The * imam Othman, master of the two testimonies, did not die by the master of the two testimonies. +" Meaning that Ali was not guilty of of the death of Othman.

So solemn a decision caused all their scruples to vanish. Abu Kotadad, an ansar of great distinction, drawing his sword and shew? ing it to the people, said, "The apostle of God, upon whom be peace, girt me with this sword, which I have sheathed a long while; but it is now high time to draw it against these wicked men who are always deceiving the people."

All distinction of party being now at an end; and the inhabitants of Medina unanimoully resolved to march out in defence of the Caliph; Ali, well pleased with the favourable resolutions of the people, was

Imam, in Arabic, fignifies a head or pontiff, and is the same amongst the Mahometans as a bishop or parish priest amongst the Christians. They gave the Caliphs the title of Imams, because they were supreme both in spirituals and t mporals.

† The master of the two testimonies, signisies the Caliph, as head of the musulman religion, which consists in these two fundamental points: "There is but one God. Mahomet is the apostle of God."

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of Cufah re-

fuses to send

fuccours to

the Caliph.

defirous of marching after A eshi and h r party, in hopes of preventing the rebel from getting possession of Basorah; to whi h end he departed from the city at the lead of about' nine hundred men. But being informed at a place called Arrabdah, that it would be in vain, he halted the e, and sent expresses to different parts of his dominions, with orders that they should send him speedy fuccours. During his stay there he also dispatched Mahomet the son of Abubecre, and Mahomet the son of Giaffer, with instructions to treat with the inhabitants of Cufah, and to obtain from thematimely reinforcement of troops; but their embassy was not attended The governor with success. The governor of Cufah*, who in the beginning of the troubles had fent him word that all was well in those parts, and acquainted him with the particulars of all that concerned him there, perceiving how the face of things was changed, and apprehensive of the success of Aiesha and her affociates at Basorah, began to be in suspence, and treated Ali's envoys with great coldness; and though they intreated him with the greatest earnestness, they could not prevail on him to declare for the Caliph.

> The deputies finding that intreaties stood them in no stead, reproached him for his ingratitude and injustice: but this only served

^{*} Abu Mufa.

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to discover his ill-will towards Ali; for he declared with an oath, that the affaffination Hegyra 36. of Othman still hung over his own, as well Ch. ær. 656. as their master's head; and they were resolved not to stir in the quarrel, unless compelled by absolute necessity, till they had cleared their hands of Othman's murderers. The envoys being unable to obtain any other

answer, set out to join Ali, full of rage and

vexation.

They went to the camp at Arrabdah, expecting to have found the Caliph there; but he had quitted it, and was marched nearer to Basorah, having been joined by a reinforcement which the tribe of Thais had fent him under a chief named Saïd-ebn-Obeid. And flortly after, during his march, he received further succours from the tribe of Ased, which insensibly increased his little army, and inspired him with the most sanguine hopes of success in his designs.

The deputies who returned from Cufah, came up with him at Dulkhar, at the very time when Othman, the governor of Basorah, came to wait upon the Caliph, and give him an account of what passed there. Ali, perceiving upon his visage marks of the cruel treatment he had met with from Aïesha and her attendants, pitied his misfortune, and publickly bestowed high commendations on his fidelity and constancy.

The deputies he had sent to Cufah, then gave him an account of their negotiations.

The



ALI. Hegyra 36. Ch. ær. 655. The behaviour of Abu Musa touched him to the quick; however this infulting answer did not discourage him; he sent other deputies, who were as unsuccessful as the former; and upon their return, he finally resolved to send his eldest son Hasan thither, together with Ammar-ebn-Yasar, (whom he appointed his colleague) with orders to make a fresh attempt, and to use all possible means for bringing over to his fide the governor and inhabitants of that city.

Hasan negotiates with the Cusians for of fuccours.

Abu Musa received Hasan with great marks of respect; but when they came into the obtaining the mosque to debate the matter, he opposed it with the same vigour as before, and exerted his utmost to prevent the people from complying with Ali's proposals. But things took a sudden turn; for a tumult beginning to arise in the assembly, Zeid-ebn-Sauchan stood up, and produced a letter which he had received from Aïesha, commanding him either to stay at home, or to come to her affistance; together with another to the Cufians to the same effect. Having read It is a text in them both to the people, he said, "Aïesha was commanded to abide in her house, and we to fight till the sedition should be quelled. Now she hath commanded us to do her part, and hath taken ours upon herfelf."

the Koran.

The freedom with which Zeid had cenfured the conduct of Aïesha, provoked the opposite party, who began to murmur and

utter

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utter invectives, and a warm debate ensued: but Hasan appearing inclined to speak to Hegyra 36. the people, the tumult by degrees subsided, Ch. ær. 656. and silence having been obtained, he arose, and spoke thus: "Your monarch," said he, meaning the Caliph, " requires your affiftance, and it is both your duty and interest to grant it him. Can you alledge any just cause for refusing it? Can any man truly upbraid him with having shewn a covetous inclination, or with having perverted justice? Will any amongst you say, that he hath intruded himself into the Caliphat, or is unworthy of that digity? The rebels, indeed, pretend they have taken up arms to avenge the death of Othman: but be not deceived, O ye men of Cufah; the avenging Othman is but a pretext, the dethroning Ali is their real design. Ali, who was unanimously chosen at Medina, and to whom Tellah and Zobeir, that now head the rebels, took the oath of allegiance."

This harangue had a greater effect than all the preceding negotiations. The Cufians were moved at the persecutions the Caliph suffered. Hafan, who was attentive to all that passed at the assembly, plainly saw the temper of the people, and, by his affable and condescending behaviour during his short stay in that city, intirely fixed the inhabitants in his interest. When he took his leave, he told them he was going to his father; that he would acquaint him with their Vol. II. good

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A L I. Hegyra 36. Ch. ær. 656. good intentions towards him, and give him hopes they would be speedily carried into execution. The Cusians having expressed a desire of marching forthwith in defence of their sovereign, Hasan declared how greatly he was obliged to them for their readiness, and at his departure told them, that such as thought sit to follow him, would do an essential service to the state, and he should think it an honour to march at their head.

The Cufians raise troops for the Calliph.

The promises of the Cusians were soon carried into effect, and about nine thousand of them began their march. Hasan, who was equally surprized and pleased at the success of his negotiation, forthwith dispatched a messenger to the Caliph, to inform him

of so happy an event.

This important news filled Ali and his party with joy. The highest encomiums were bestowed on the zeal of the Cusians; and in order to shew his gratitude, the Caliph marched forwards, and met and welcomed them. He harangued the new recruits with his accustomed eloquence; and after having greatly praised their valour, for which they had been distinguished on so many occasions, and particularly at the time they conquered Persia, he addressed them in the following terms, in relation to the present posture of affairs:

"I have called you hither, (said he) brave Cusians, to be witnesses between us and our brethren of Basorah. It is my intention to

make

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make use of gentle means, in hopes of bringing them to their duty without the shedding Hegyra 36. of mussulman blood. And if any amongst you maintain a correspondence, or have an interest in the place, I intreat that you will labour with me in bringing about an accommodation; for I here ope by declare, I prefer peace to all the advantages that may be gained by arms: fince on which fide foever the fortune of war declares, the portion of the subject is certain desolation."

The loud acclamations uttered by the people on the concluding this harangue, convinced the Caliph that he might rely on their favourable dispositions. Ali therefore shortly began his march to find out the

rebels.

On receipt of this news, Aïesha and her party in Basorah began to be in no small perplexity. But when they faw the Caliph appear with his army, and pitch his camp near the walls of the city, they seemed to be in a despairing condition. The rebels having held several conferences in a very tumultuous manner, Tellah and Zobeir resolved to have an interview with Ali, in order to compromise matters upon the best terms they could procure.

Ali, who breathed only peace, readily Conference agreed to confer with them. At the first between Ali interview the Caliph spoke to them with and Zobeir. great moderation; however in such terms as manifested their infidelity and perfidiousness;

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in a word, their rebeilion, for which he had Hegyra 36.

not given them the least cause.

"Remember," said he to Zobeir, "what passed between the prophet, you and me, when he asked you, if you did not love his dear son Ali. You answered, Yes; and he replied, Notwithstanding this, a day will come when you shall rise up against him, and be the occasion of great miseries both to him and all the Musfulmen."

Zobeir, being equally moved at the moderation with which the Caliph spoke to him, and the reproach of having been false to that friendship he had sworn even in the presence of Mahomet, answered with a great shew of contrition: " I well remember it; and had I recollected my promise before, I would never have borne arms against you." Upon this he retired, and resolved that what turn soever affairs should take, he would no more oppose Ali.

But the envenomed Aïesha never ceased till she had brought him back to the former resolutions she had instilled into him: and that she might have no future cause to fear the unsteadiness of that Mussulman, she prevented his having any more interviews with the Caliph. And as Zobeir expressed great uneasiness on account of the oath of allegiance he had taken to Ali at the time of his inauguration, * she bad him expiate his oath,

Zobeir refolves to lay down his arms.

^{*} Ockley, in his History of the Saracens, vol. II. fol. 42, fays, It was the opinion of some that Abdollah, the son of Zobeir, gave his father the hint.

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which he performed by *fetting a flave at liberty. By means of this expedient, Zo-Hegyra 36. beir again joined the rebels, and bore arms against Ali, at the battle which was fought shortly after.

All the conferences that had passed were fruitless. In vain did the Caligh, who had reason and justice, as well as a numerous army on his side, take measures to bring about a reconciliation; the turbulent Aïesha would not listen to his terms, and defeated all his measures, insomuch that they were at last forced to have recourse to a decisive action.

The two armies drew up in order of battle, and lay on their arms opposite each other. Aïesha, in order to give vigour and courage to her friends, mounted her great camel, and was carried up and down the battle in a litter made like a cage. So soon as the fignal was given, both sides engaged with equal fury and bravery. The battle was very bloody, and for a long time victory feemed doubtful to which party she should favour. But on the death of one of the rebel generals, Ali's troops had a manifest advantage.

Tellah, one of the chief commanders, Tellah is kilfinding the ardour of his troops greatly led. abated, used his utmost efforts to encourage

^{*} This was the method used by the Mussulmen to expiate an oath which they were unwilling to keep, or which would prejudice them to observe.

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them. Merwan, who was then with Ali, observed him, and said, "Behold a traytor and murderer of Othman, who, in hopes of bettering his condition, now appears the foremost amongst those that seek to revenge his blood; but I shall stophim in his career." And with these words he let fly an arrow which mortally wounded Tellah in the thigh. He was forthwith carried out of the battle to a house in Basorah, and his wound dressed, but he was soon sensible he had not long to live. A short time before he died, he saw one of Ali's men (who had probably been taken prisoner,) and being informed that he belonged to the emperor of the faithful, "Give me your hand then," said he, "that I may put mine into it; and by this action renew the oath of fidelity which I have already made to Ali." Which words were no sooner out of his mouth than he expired.

When this was told to Ali, he returned thanks, and said, "God would not call him to heaven till he had blotted out the first breach of his word by this last protestation of fidelity"

The death of Zobeir.

Ali was at the same time informed that Zobeir, another commander of the rebels, had also lost his life. It has been observed that after his interview with the Caliph he had suffered himself to be seduced by Aïesha, and had again taken up arms against Ali; but as the two armies were on the point of engaging, he was seized with some fresh scruples, having been informed that a samous Mussulman, named

named Ammar-ebn-Yasser was in Ali's camp, Ali. and recollecting he had formerly heard Maho-Hegyra 36. Ch. ar. 656. met say; that Yasser was so great a lover of equity and justice, that the party he should espouse would be the honest one; the idea to affected him, that he filently withdrew out of the battle, and went towards Mecca. Being come as far as a valley, croffed by a rivulet called Sabaa, he met an arabian detachment commanded by Hanaf-ebn-Kais, who had fided with neither party, and knowing they were ready to come to blows, was encamped there with his men, attending the success of the battle, with an intent to join the conqueror.

It appears however from the relation of Mirkoud, a persian historian, that Hanaf was much more inclined to the Caliph than to the other party: for seeing Zobeir at a distance, who was coming towards him, and to whose treachery he was no stranger, he asked his men, if there was nobody that would undertake to give him a good account of Zobeir?

Amru-ebn-Giarmouz stepping out undertook the commission, and immediately rode up to Zobeir, who bad him keep his diftance; but after a short conversation growing into greater confidence of Zobeir, they both alighted from their horses. Whilst they were conversing on what passed in the Caliph's army, Zobeir cryed out, Salat, that is to prayers, (for the hour of prayer was come) and as he prostrated himself to pray, Amru seized the opportunity, and with one blow of his cimeter severed his head from his body.

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Ali troubled
at Zobeir's
death.

That Musfulman instead of carrying the head to his captain, as he was ordered to do, ran instantly to the Caliph's army, at the time victory had declared in favour of Ali. Amru flattered himself that by presenting to the Caliph the head of so considerable an enemy, he should enhance the advantages the Caliph had obtained. But Ali, far from testifying the least satisfaction, could not help shedding tears at the fight. He spoke very harshly to Amru, and even threatened him with hell, And he who had expected an ample recompence, was astonished at such a rate to see the matter take so different a turn, that laying aside alı respect he said to the Caliph, "You are the evil genius of the Mussulmen; if one delivers you from your enemies, you immediately threaten him with hell: and if a man kills any of your adherents, he becomes instantly a companion of the devil. And so great was the rage of Amru that without uttering another word he drew his sword, and plunged it in his own breast.

By the death of Tellah and Zobeir, and the utter defeat of the rebels, Ali's victory was compleat. And he had no longer reason to fear any opposition from enemies in the heart of his dominions; Aïesha herself was made prisoner; vain had she attempted to escape amongst the runaways; * her camel having

been

So long as Aïesha's camel stood on his legs the hottest of the battle was about him. Tabû says that threescore and

been hamstringed in the heat of the action, Alf. the was obliged to lye upon the skill till the Ch. ar. 656. battle was over, and there the Caliph had an interview with her.

The conference began with mutual re-Conference proaches. However, Ali in the end treated her between Ali and Airsha. With great civility and moderation, and dimiffed her to Medina with a very good equipage commanded by his two sons. He required her to remain in her house, not to intermeddle any more with state affairs, and particularly not to join for the future in any saction, which would spare her the shame of reslecting upon herself for having been a second time the authores of such disturbances as she had already occasioned, to the great detriment of her country.

After the departure of Aïesha, Ali having given orders for collecting all the booty taken from the enemy, took a resolution to dispose of it in such a manner as was likely to gain the love of all the army; for he directed that a *• considerable part of it should be divided amongst the representatives of † such of his soldiers as had been killed in the battle. And having constituted Abdallah-ebn-Abbas governor of Basorah, in a short time he departed from that city.

ten men's hands were cut off that held his bridle. And Ai-esha's litter was stuck so full of arrows and javelins, that it looked like a porcupine. Ockley's Life of Ali, sol. 46.

* Ockley fays all the booty. Ibid.

[†] They did not exceed one thousand. Ibid.

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Ali fixes his

residence at

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Moawiyah to

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The Caliph went to Cufah, where he fixed the feat of his empire. Meaning by that honourable mark of distinction t testify his gratitude for the services done him by the inhabitants of the city, to whose his and valour, he confissed above to the serious he had in the above done.

the victory he had just obtain d.

This great s cc h ving ende d Ali ex-

ceeding powe ful, le se m d to b no longer apprehensive of an rol state from Moawiyah; he was u uling at that the to attack the govern f Syria with op n so ce, and overlooking the indecent treatment he had

received from t a Mussulman, on account of a letter he had formerly sent him he resolved to write to him a second time in hopes of pre-

vailing with him to ubm. to his a hority.

Amru sides with Moawiyah.

Moawiyah for a time declined to fend any fatisfactory answer. He was unwilling to take the least step without previously consulting Amru-ebn-al-As, that famous conqueror of Egypt, who having been appointed governor of that province by Omar, had been deprived of, and afterwards restored to it by Othman, and had been lately dismissed from that post by Ali. Moawiyah did not fail entering into a strict league with so considerable a malecontent, and they in concert used their utmost efforts to protract the disorders, that they might by degrees deprive the Caliph of the hearts of the people. Upon receipt, therefore of Ali's letter, Moawiyah communi-

cated

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cated the contents to Amru, and defired he would inform him of his sentiments Hegyra 36. upon the matter. And he at the same time affured him, that he was fill bent on revenging the death of the Caliph Othman, that all Syria entertained the same design, and that he would do what in him lay to spur them on.

Amru was in Palestine when he received Moawiyah's letter: It gave him the most sensible pleasure to find that governor still perfisting in his resolutions to oppose Ali. He returned for answer that he soon proposed to second him, and heartily join in taking

vengeance for the Caliph's death.

He no longer bore in mind that Othman had formerly omitted no means of discrediting him, and that so soon as he was elected Caliph, he had deprived him of the government of Egypt, to which he had restored him only on account of the then exigency of affairs, and of the great credit he was in amongst the Egyptians. When Ali ascended the throne, he forthwith again dismissed him from that government, which step induced Amru to declare against him, and to join with Moawiyah in that fatal union which filled the mussulman empire with intestine divisions; and in the end deprived the Caliph of his crown and life.

The connections between Moawiyah and Amru, were greatly strengthened by the victory Ail had just obtained. They foresaw that

A z 1. Hegyra 36. Ch. ær. 656. if they remained divided, the power he had gained by such an advantage would enable him easily to crush them both. But that by uniting their strength, the enterprize would be attended with much greater difficulties; and it might even be presumed, that two chieftains equally renowned for their conquests, and skill in politics, might be able to counterbalance the Caliph's authority, and in time effectually cause his destruction.

Moawiyah brings over the Syrians to his party.

During the time Moawiyah expected the arrival of Amru, he used all possible means to incense the Syrians against Ali. He represented him as the assassin of Othman, whose death he was concerned to avenge, not only as he was a descendant from Ommiyah, as well as the Caliph, but also out of gratitude for the signal service he had done him in bestowing on him the government of Syria, of which the new Caliph was bent to deprive him.

It has appeared that Moawiyah had already raised a considerable body of troops more than sufficient to have faced the Caliph, at the time of the first disturbances in Medina: but Ali's forces were so much augmented since his late victory, that it was unsafe to march out against him, without having first taken the utmost precautions. Besides, Moawiyah was revolving in his mind an important scheme which he could not carry into execution without a body of troops sufficient to support his ambitious designs.

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For this cause he used his utmost efforts to gain the whole hearts of the people; and Hegyra 36. without making the least discovery of those motives which were the main springs of his conduct, he pretended that his only view was to revenge the death of Othman. The populace who had testified their affection to that Caliph at the time his bloody garments were displayed in public, gave fresh proofs of their regard for him when Moawiyah harangued them on the same subject in the chief mosque of Damascus.

He loudly accused Ali of having sacrificed Othman to his ambitious views of obtaining the throne. He afferted that the election of the new Caliph had not been confirmed by the voices of the people; that he had committed outrages on several of the Musfulmen, to force them to pay him homage; that Tellah and Zobeir having protested against his election, he had pursued them sword in hand. and having obtained a victory over those noble defenders of the blood of Othman, and the liberties of their country, he had prefumed to ill treat the widow of the prophet; that indeed he had not taken away the life of the mother of the faithful, but that his pretended moderation was owing to his apprehensions of stirring up the whole nation against him: and in a word, that the triumphant Caliph was preparing to march into Syria in order to deprive him of his government.

Att. Hegyra 36. Ch.ær.656. This speech, which he uttered with great vehemence, made an impression on the minds of his auditors, and a murmuring was heard in the assembly which seemed to foretel the concurrence of the people. He scized the lucky moment, and still the more to move them cried out, "Syrians, will you forsake me in so just a cause? if I avenge the death of Othman by shedding every drop of my blood (if need so require,) shall not I revenge the death of your sovereign, who was your benefactor, your father, &c."

Amru arrives at Damascus. This harrangue was broke off by the arrival of Amru, who suddenly marched into Damascus at the head of a body of troops which he brought to join Moawiyah. It is afferted that this unexpected arrival had been artfully concerted by the two captains, with a view that the people, already deeply affected by Moawiyah's speech, might by their acclamations shew their approbation of the scene that was about to pass in their presence.

So soon as Moawiyah was informed of Amru's arrival, he descended from the pulpit to go and meet him, and was followed by the whole assembly. On his way he told such as were about him that Amru's arrival was miraculous; and that he could not account for his having been so expeditious: in this manner he advanced to the principal square, opposite the mosque, where he found Amru.

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The people were all in amaze to see him fall prostrate at Moawiyah's feet; but how Ch. ær. 656. great was their astonishment when they heard Moawiyah is Amru acknowledge him for * Caliph, and acknowledge take the oath of allegiance to him. How-ed Caliph. ever the spectators were too much warmed with what had already passed, not to follow this example. In short, they proclaimed him with a kind of frenzy, and the whole city of Damascus was filled with tumultuous acclamations in behalf of the new Caliph. The news of this extraordinary inauguration foon reached all the other cities of Syria, and each of them envied the good fortune of Damascue,

capital of the musulman empire. Ali was not long a stranger to these extra-Ali of that ordinary emotions; but he must have been event. sensibly touched at the insulting manner in which Moawiyah communicated the transaction to him. That governor kept the Caliph's courier at Damascus till the time of the revolution, and when it had happened, he sent for the courier, and delivered to him the pacquet, which informed his master of the fatal blow just given to his authority.

which, by this event, would become the

This resolution was by so much the more formidable, as Moawiyah had gained the greatest reputation among those he governed: besides, Syria was a very extensive province,

He informs

Abu'l Pharagius says that they did not swear to him by the title of Caliph, but only of Emir.

MENT OF

A L 1. Hegyra. 36. Ch. ær. 656.

Ali marches against the rebels.

and capable of receiving affistance from forreigners, by means of its sea ports on the Mediterranean.

Ali, without delay, strove to reduce the rebels to a just sense of their duty by using gentle means; he promised them a general pardon, and an act of oblivion, but all in vain. At length, negociations proving ineffectual, he found himself under a necessity of taking contrary measures, and of using force, to obtain that which moderation could not effect. He therefore departed from Cusah at the head of ninety thousand men, and marched towards Syria.

On his arrival upon the frontiers of that province, he halted some time to refresh his troops, greatly satigued by their march. And there, according to the relation of arabian historians, an extraordinary event happened, which greatly augmented the love and respect they have to the Calinh

they bore to the Caliph.

He discovers a well which furnishes his troops with water. In the place where Ali encamped, water failed him, and he fent into the neighbour-hood to inquire out a person, who might shew them a well or cistern capable of supplying his army. They brought before him an old hermit, whose cell was not far from the camp; and the Caliph having interrogated him, he answered that he knew of no more than one cistern, which might contain about two or three buckets of water; but he at the same time give them to understand, that there were means of finding greater plenty.

Whereupon

Whereupon the Caliph replied, that he knew Att. the ancient patriarchs had diaged we'll there. It syra 36. abouts; but the difficulty was to find them. Ch. 21. 656.

The hermit said he had been intormed by some ancient men, that there was a well, but that the mouth of it was closed by a stone of an enormous size; that no man knew where it lay; and the tradition of the country was, that no person could find and open it, but a prophet, or one sent by a prophet.

Ali forthwith caused his men to dig in a spot which he pointed out to them; and not far from the surface they found the huge stone mentioned by the hermit, which the Caliph removed with the greatest ease imagi-

nable.

The hermit surprized at the sight, fell at Ali's feet, acknowledged him to be a prophet, and by way of confirming the eminent title he had bestowed on him, ran to his cell. whence he brought an old worn out parchment · which he said was written by the hand of Simeon ben Safah, otherwise called Simon, the son of Cephas, one of the apostles of Jesus Christ, wherein there was an account given of the coming of the last prophet, and the miraculous discovery of the well, and taking away the stone, by his lawful successor. The credulous Miissulmen looked upon the parchment as an authentic evidence which it would be criminal to dispute, and joined with Ali E VOL. II.

ALI. Hegyra 37. Ch. ær. 657. in returning thanks to heaven for so wonderful an event.

After Ali had given his troops some time for refreshment, and taken water sufficient for their use, he continued his march towards Seffein; where he knew the enemy's army was posted* The proximity of the two armies did not occasion any memorable action during the space of a year; but after several fruitless conferences in order to an accomodation between the parties, many skirmishes happened between small bodies of troops on each side, which were from time to time sent out to scour the country; it seeming as if the two chiefs were assaid of hazarding a general engagement.

Skirmishes between the two armies. However, in a short time, as many men were killed in the † several skirmishes, as if a pitched battle had been fought. Ali lost ‡ sive thousand men, the most illustrious of whom was Ammar-ebn-Yassar, Ali's general of of the horse. He had been present with Mahomet in several battles, at which he had done him signal service, and had acquired a great reputation amongst the Mussulmen: he was about ninety years of age when he was

* That army confisted of eighty thousand men. Ockley's hist. of the Saracens, vol. II. p. 50.

† It is reported that in the space of one hundred and ten days there were no less than ninety skirmishes between them. Ibid.

‡ Ockley says, twenty five thousand; and though he produces no authority for the same, yet, it is highly probable, from the nature of things, that his observation is right. Ibid.

ALI.

Hegyra 37.

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killed, and his death was greatly lamented by them all.

Upon the death of Ammar, Ali with twelve thousand chosen men, so siercely attacked Merwight Moawiyah's army, that he threw them into with Min the utmost confusion. However, the Caliph, fing'e comwith a view to spare the blood of his soldiers, challenged Moawiyah to a single combat, and offered that the conquerer should enjoy the whole: but the governor of Syria declined the combat, spight of the remonstrances of Amru, who declared he thought the proposal very fair, and that he could not avoid accepting it. But Moawiyah shewed him. self to be of a different opinion, for he faid that Ali never fought hand to hand but he killed his adversary, and he had no inclination to undergo the same fate. But Amru still representing to him that his reputation would be blasted by such a refusal, Moawiyah in a rage at being so hard driven, put an end to the discourse, and told Amru, he wanted him out of the way that he might

Moawiyah, not chusing to engage personally at the head of his troops, kept himself out of the reach of danger during the several skirmishes that passed between the two armies after Ali's arrival. In these combats Moawiyah sustained great loss; which, according to the arabian historians, amounted to

forty five thousand men.

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ALI. Hegyra 37. Ch. ær. 657.

Ali being encouraged by the daily advantages he gained, was in hopes of getting a compleat victory, whether the enemy should resolve on fighting or retreating: but Moawiyah having called a council to confider what measures were proper to be taken in their present unhappy situation, they bethought themselves of a stratagem likely to raise divisions amongst Ali's troops, and free themselves from the difficulty.

Stratagem

The expedient wa to fix books of the awiyah to a- Koran on the points of their lances, and cry muse the Ca-out, "This is the book which ought to decide liph's troops. all our differences; and which prohibits the shedding mussulman blood without cause, as is now done." Moawiyah greatly relying on the success of this artifice, put it to the proof during an action in which his troops were very hard pressed, and on the point of being utterly routed. He, at a proper opportunity, caused the detachment, who bore the pikes I have mentioned, to advance; and so soon as the Itakians, in whom the chief strength of Ali's army confisted, saw this, they gave over fighting, and required that they might retreat. Ali did all in his power to re-animate his soldiers; he represented to them that it was only an artifice of Moawiyah and Amru (who he said had no relation to religion or the Koran) and suggested to them by despair; but spight of his remonstrances they threw down their arms, and threatened not only to desert their general, but to deli-

ver him up into the hands of the enemy, if ALI. he did not cause a retreat to be forthwith Hegyra 37. founded.

Thus, by the tumultuous conduct of the bigotted Irakians, was Ali forced to retreat, at the very instant he was on the point of

easily gaining a compleat victory.

So foon as the battle was at an end, a ne-Proposal to gociation was set on foot between the two artificrances by mies, to determine the difference in an amicathe opinion of ble manner, since it was not thought proper arbitiators. to decide the matter by the sword. It was proposed, that according to the meaning of the Koran, and the tradition of the aposile, the whole should be referred to the arbitration of two men, the one to be chosen by Ali, the other by Moawiyah.

This measure having been resolved on, without Ali's knowledge or consent, they asked him if he approved of the expedient. Ali coldly answered, "He that is not at liberty cannot give his advice; you may manage this affair in such manner as you think sit." It plainly appearing by the Caliph's answer, that he was in no wife satisfied with the method proposed, they who had begun the negociation, took every step in their power to terminate it; and of their own accord they nominated as arbitrator for Ali, Abu Musa-al Ashari, an honest well meaning man, but exceeding simple.

Ali had more reasons than one to disapprove of him, for Abu Musa had sormerly

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ALI. Hegyra 37. Ch. ær. 657.

fuffered himself to be drawn aside, and had forsaken the Caliph's interest. He mentioned his dislike of the man to the chiefs of the Irakians, who had undertaken the management of the affair, and desired they would dismis Abu Musa, and appoint Abdollahebn-Abbas in his stead: but he was answered that he was his cousin german, and they would have none but such as should deal impartially between him and Moawiyah. He then nominated Alushtar, but they were resolved he should accept of Abu Musa.

On the part of Mozwiyah was named as arbitrator, the famous Amru-ebn-al-As, defervedly reputed the most sensible man of the age. The two referees took a security, signed by Ali and Moawiyah, and both the armies, for themselves and their families, that all should contribute to their assistance to ratify and confirm what they should agree upon.

So foon as the fecurity was figned, a treaty was drawn up, the title of which caused much altercation. The fecretary had begun it with these words. "Ali, chief and commander general of the Mussulmen, agrees to a peace with Moawiyah upon the following terms." Moawiyah having read the title, refused to sign the treaty, and said, "I should be a very wicked man indeed, should I make war on him, whom I acknowledge to be chief and commander general of all

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the faithful." Amru ebn-al-As also disputed that title, and said it ought to be blot-Hegyra 37. ted out. 'And on the other fide, Ali's adherents counselled him by no means to give

it up.

Ali knew not at first what resolution to take in the affair, but he soon resolved to forego the title for the fake of peace, and he gave his reasons for such a resolution, in a conference he held on that subject with Hanaf-ebn-Kais.

"I remember, said he, that when I was formerly secretary to my father in law Mahomet, I drew up articles of peace between him and Sohail, who had revolted against him, in which I had intitled Mahomet the apostle and messenger of God. Sohail, seeing the title, refused to sign the treaty, saying, if I had acknowledged your father in law to be the apostle and messenger of God, I should have had no peace to sign, for I would never have made war against him. I acquainted Mahomet with this difficulty, who answered me, "Blot out the title forthwith; it in no wife depends upon this treaty; time will manifest the truth of it; and remember that a day will come, when you will find yourself in the same case." Ali therefore observing to Hanaf that he should advance the public tranquillity by foregoing the title on that occasion, declared that he thought himself under an obligation of complying; and more especially as he was countenanced

ALI. Ch. ær. 657.

by so venerable an example as that of his Hegyra. 37. father-in-law.

> So foon as the difficulty was removed, the treaty was figned; and in a short time Ali retired to Cufah, and Moawiyah to Damascus, leaving each of them their army under the command of one of their generals, and as to things concerning religion they each appointed an Imam.

The manner in which the two arbitrators act on

The authority given to the arbitrators having specified the * place of meeting to hold their conferences, they arrived there some that occasion. time after the departure of Ali and Moawiyah. Amru, who well knew the genius of his partner, treated him with the utmost civility and respect, and at last had so far infinuated himself into, and gained so great credit with Abu Musa, as to persuade him, that it would be utterly impracticable ever to bring matters to an accommodation without depofing both the competitors, and leaving the choice of a third to the people.

This important article once fixed, they returned each to his camp, and on the day appointed for publishing their award, the troops of Ali and Moawiyah advanced near each other, and a tribunal was raised between the two armies, from which each of the arbitrators was publickly to pronounce his

award.

^{*} Dumat al Jondel, a place lying between Mecca, Cufah and Syria. Ockley, vol. II. page 56.

A L I. H gvra 37. Ch. ær. 657

There was a kind of polite contention between them, touching which of the target floudd speak first. Abu Musa would have yielded the honour to Amru; but he had his reasons for declining it, and seemed so determined to give the other the presence, that at last he was persuaded to accept it. Abu Musa therefore first ascended the tribunal, and with a loud voice uttered these words: "I depose Ali and Moawiyah from the Caliphate, to which they both lay claim, in like manner as I take this ring from my finger:" and having made this declaration he immediately came down.

Upon this Amru went up, and said "You have heard how Abu Musa has on his part deposed Ali; I, on my own part, depose him also; and I give the Caliphate to Moawiyah, and invest him therewith, in like manner as I put this ring upon my singer: and this I do with the greater reason and justice, as he is Othman's heir and avenger, and the worthiest of all men to succeed him."

The friends of Ali, amazed at this extraordinary publication of the referees, complained greviously of the conduct of Abu Mufa, who, by way of exculpating himself, accused Amru of not having performed the agreements made between them. From complaints they came to ill language, and Abu Musa, ashamed of his conduct, and justly fearing Ali's displeasure, besides not thinking himself

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The HISTORY of

ALI. Hegyra 37. Ch. ær. 657. himself safe in the army, fled to Mecca: and the friends of Moawiyah, sensible how advantageous this determination was to them, resolved to support this election of their chief, with all their might.

Rife of the fchism between the Mussulmen.

At this time began that so famous schism amongst the Mahometans when the two parties not only curied one another, but carried matters so far as to come to a mutual solemn excommunication, which was always pronounced when they harangued the people in their mosques, and which was practised a long time by the descendants of Ali and Ommiyah, of which last house were Othman and Moawiyah.

The Kareparty.

Whilst these things were transacting in jites quit Ali's Syria, with a view (as was pretended) of settling the tranquillity of the musfulman state, Ali, to his great grief, found himself deserted by a sect, which till that time had appeared firmly attached to his interest. These sectaries were called Karejites, and were a kind of thorough enthusiasts, who acknowledged no authority but such as might best promote their interest.

> After Ali had retired to Cufah, some of the Karejites came to him; they reproached him for having referred that to the judgment of men, which ought to be decided by God alone: that instead of observing the treaty he had imprudently entered into, he ought to pursue his enemies, who were also the enemies of God, without giving quarter-

> > Ali

Ali answered, that having plighted his faith, Ali. he thought himself obliged to keep it; and Char. 37. that in so doing he obeyed what the law of Char. 657.

God prescribed. But the Irakians replied, that there was no other judge or arbitrator between him and Moawiyah but God alone,

that what he had done was a sin, and that he

ought to repent of it.

Ali remonstrated to them with great warmth, that if it was a fin, it lay at their own door, who had shewn so great inconstancy and stubbornness. He bid them remember that when Moawiyah caused the Alcoran to be carried at the head of his army, he told them it was a meer artifice of the enemy, but that nevertheless they had ceased fighting without his orders; and that in shortit washighly injurious in them to urge him to break a treaty which they themselves had forced him to sign, and which he could not contravene without being guilty of perjury.

The rebels, not in the least satisfied with these reasons, urged what they had surther to say by way of reply, and the conference ending in a quarrel, they openly revolted from Ali, and chose for their captain Abdollah-ebn-Waheb, who appointed Naharwan (a town between Bagdat and Waset, four miles east of the river Tigris,) for the place of their rendezvous. Thither came all such as were discontented with Ali, of which there was a great number from Cusah, Basorah, and other parts of Arabia.

Ali's

Ali's thoughts were at first so totally taken

A L 1. Hegyra 37. Ch. ær. 657.

They preach up a new doctrine.

up with Moawiyah, whom he confide ed as much the more formidable enemy; that he took little notice of the new formed party: but hearing that they were twenty five thoufand men strong, and had by dint of the sword propagated doctrines which were absolutely contrary to the laws of Mahomet, he resolved to exterminate the sect.

Hegyra 38. Ch. ær. 658. However, he first endeavoured to gain them by gentleness, and to bring them back to their duty by good advice; but these means proving ineffectual, he put himself at the nead of a numerous body of forces, and marched out against them, and encamped within sight of the rebels tents.

Ali disperses the Karejites.

Before he began the battle, he made use of this expedient, in hopes of bringing them to obedience: he caused a standard to be planted at the head of his camp, with a writing fixed to the flag-staff, importing, that all such as should come under it should have good quarter; and if any of them would return to Cusah, they should there find a sanctuary.

He caused the same thing to be proclaimed by sound of trumpet, and had the pleasure to find his stratagem successful. The rebel troops soon dispersed themselves; and of their numerous army only four thousand men remained together: however, Abdollah was resolved with this small number to signalize his bravery by a desperate attempt. He attacked Ali's armies, notwithstanding the great inequality

inequality of numbers: but his rashness was ALI. duly punished, for he and all his men were cut Hegyra 38. in pieces, except nine only, which was the very number Ali lost in the battle.

This victory having re-united the Arabians Ali prepares under the government of Ali, he thought to march out his authority was well established, and would way.h. have marched against Moawiyah immediately after he had won the battle, in hopes that the news of his great success might have staggered Moawiyah's party, and smoothed the way to his gaining equal advantages in Syria. But his chief officers represented to him, that it would be proper to give the troops some time for refreshing themselves, and making due preparations for a war, which threatened to be of long continuance. Ali followed their advice, and formed his camp at Nakilah, near Cufah. There his troops had time to recover their fatigue, and there his army was confiderably strengthened by new recruits, whom he caused to be well instructed in discipline, in order to fit them for the trade of war.

Whilst the Caliph was making ready his forces to act against Moawiyah, that formidable rival was using all possible measures to enable him to stand his ground against Ali, and to deprive him of the obedience of such of his subjects as still remained firm in his interest: in particular he strove to raise disturbances in Egypt, which he brought about in a very artful manner.

ALI. Hegyra 38. Ch. ær. 658.

Egypt still continued faithful to Ali. Some considerable emotions had indeed happened in that province at the beginning of his reign: the Egyptians had infifted that he ought to punish the affassins of Othman; and he, unwilling to engage in so nice an affair, having shewn a great backwardness in complying with their request, they refused to acknowledge Saad-ebn-Kais, whom he had appointed governor over them, in the room of Amru.

Saad gains possession of his government in Egypt.

Their first warmth being a little abated, Saad again returned to Egypt, and gained pofsession of his government. That Musfulman was a man of consummate prudence and known fidelity, and behaved in his post with so much caution and skill, that though there was in the province a numerous party of men totally devoted to Moawiyah, he not only found means to maintain Ali's authority without displeasing his opponents, but also gained the good will of the greatest part of them.

He is fufthrough the artifice of Moawiyah.

The artful Moawiyah foreseeing that all his pected by Ali, practices in that country would be fruitless, whilst it should be under the conduct of such a governor, resolved within himself to get Saad recalled. For which purpose he caused a report to be spread over all Syria, that he was very well satisfied in respect to Egypt, which he knew would declare for him in due time; that this governor was his friend and acted in concert with him, and therefore

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ALT.

had not attacked the party of the Othmanians; that he could the more rely on him, as Hegyra 38. he acted with uncommon prudence; and that they might boldly trust him with their most important secrets, without fear of his disclosing them.

This report being first spread with a pretended caution and referve, was foon propagated in all parts. Moawiyah, who had his spies and concealed friends even in Ali's court, found means to hint suspicions of that governor's misconduct, which they attempted to make appear from his moderate behaviour to Ali's enemies; in a word they omitted nothing capable of giving the Caliph an ill impression of him.

The post which Saad then possessed was too lucrative not to rouse the desires of the greedy courtiers, many of whom industrioully strove to forward the belief of this invidious accusation, with a view to ruin the governor, and enjoy his spoils. By this artifice was Ali deceived; they represented Saad to him as a false traytor. It was with great difficulty he could believe the accusation true; but they whose interest it was that he should believe it, were so indefatigable in Saad is retheir applications and remonstrances, that at government last he recalled Saad from his government, given to Ma and appointed Mahomet, the son of Abubeker, homet. (the first Caliph) in his stead.

The conduct of this new governor produced just such an effect as Moawiyah hoped

for

Alı. Hegyra 38. Ch. ær. 658.

for from the change. Mahomet thought he should recommend himself to Ali by treating all his enemies, and above all those of the faction of Othman, with the utmost rigour. This imprudent zeal exasperated the Egyptians against the new governor; even those who were Ali's fastest friends could not help condemning the rigour with which he treated the opposite party. They foresaw with great grief that such a procedure would intirely destroy the Caliph's interest; and in a very short time the whole province was divided and at war with each other, and their dissentions and disorders were carried to the greatest height.

Malec Shued.

Ali, being speedily informed how highly ed his succes- prejudicial it would be to his interest in Egypt, for, is poison-should Mahomet be any longer continued governor of that province, appointed Malec Shutur (sometimes called Ushtur Malec) to succeed him, and restore his authority there. It is highly probable that Malec was a man of no inconfiderable abilities, and it seems that Moawiyah was afraid his arrival in Egypt might ruin his project, for so soon as he had notice of the sending this new governor, he dealt with a countyman that lived upon the confines of Arabia and Egypt, at whose house Malec Shutur was to lodge, to give him poison in the entertainment he had prepared for him. The peasant, who was a friend to Moawiyah, punctually executed his orders,

and

and gave him poisoned honey to sup, of which he died in the house.

Hegyra 38. Ch. ær. 658.

Moawiyah having soon received the news, which he expected with the greatest impa-Amru seizes tience, dispatched in all haste Amru-ebn-al-Moawiyah. As, with six thousand horse, to take possession of the government of Egypt in his name. That general marched with such expedition, that in a few days he reached the capital city; where he joined Ben Scharig, chief of Othman's party, who waited only for a favourable opportunity to retaliate on the governor the injuries he had done to the Egyptians. The two chiefs joined their forces, and march-

ed out in quest of the enemy.

Mahomet, who retained the title and authority of governor for Ali, till another was fent to succeed him, had collected as many troops as he could, in hopes of bridling the rebels, but those troops were not numerous enough to enable him to withstand such confiderable fuccours as were brought to them by Amru and Scharig: insomuch that having marched up to those two generals, to give them battle, ere they advanced farther into the country, he was beaten; and, what added to his misfortune, he fell alive into his enemys hands, who quickly slew him, and inclosing Mahomet is his dead body in the carcass of an embowel-killed. led ass, (to shew their detestation of him for the cruelties he had inflicted on them) they burned it to ashes.

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ALI. Hegyra 38. Ch. ær. 658.

by furprize.

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The revolution of affairs caused by the loss of this battle, filled Ali with grief. He sent for Abdallah ebn Abbas, from Basorah, of which city he was governor, that he might enjoy the pleasure of his conversation, and that they might together take such meafures as were most proper in the melancholy situation of his affairs.

It is a little amazing that Ali did not refolve to make use of his numerous army, which was encamped at Nakilah, and had fully recovered their fatigue, and forthwith to march out against an active enemy, who lost not a moment, and who being already master of Egypt, was on the point of enlarging his conquests: but Ali wasted his time in useless conferences and consultations. Moawiyah, who was watchful to take advantage of all opportunities, was no sooner informed of Abdallah's departure from Basorah, than takes Basorah he sent out two thousand horse, under the command of Hadrami, who advanced up to the city, and took it by surprize. Abdallah had constituted Ziyad his lieutenant in that place: and the deputy not having troops sufficient to withstand Hadrami, abandoned the town on the arrival of the enemy, and informed Ali how very necessary it was to send him

> speedy succours, that he might at least be able to keep the field.

> The Caliph without delay caused a confiderable body of troops to march to his affif-

tance

tance which arrived so opportunely that All. Ziyad sought out Hadrami, engaged him near Ch. ær. 658. Basorah, and totally routed the enemy, whose general was killed in the action. Upon this He is dethe city surrendered to Ali's government, feated, and the city retaken, who, being a little encouraged by this advantaken. tage, forthwith sent away Abdallah to reasssume the government, who returned to the city, and used his best means to put it in such a posture, as to prevent any surrendered surrendered.

This event happened in the close of the Hegyra 39. 38th year of the Hegyra. The next year Ch. ær. 659. passed without any considerable adventures; for the Syrians being weary of the war, undertook nothing against the Arabians, who were unable to do more than stand upon the

defensive.

After a short cessation, in the beginning of Hegyra 40. the 40th year of the Hegyra, Moawiyah Ch. 2r. 660. signalized himself by new exploits. The Moawiyah private correspondence he had kept in the becomes master of Hejaz, induced him to form a jaz. resolution of sending a body of troops to that province, in order to seize upon its two principal towns, and by that means to open him-self a way into Yemen, or Arabia Fælix.

The conquest of Hejaz by the Syrians was so rapid, that it had rather the appearance of a journey than a military expedition. The Ar bians, who had full time to have put their towns in a proper posture of defence, and prepare an army, had neither taken care of the



ALI. Hegyra 40. Ch. ar. 660.

one, nor provided the other; infomuch that on the first approach of the Syrians, the governors of the chief places abandoned their posts. Thus the generals of Moawiyah, without the least difficulty, became masters of the chief towns in that province, and in particular of Mecca and Medina, whose inhabitants were forced to take the oath of allegiance to Moawiyah.

His troops ra-

The Syrian troops having made prepavage Yemen. rations to invade the province of Yemen, Abidallah, governor of that country, marched out against them with all the forces he could raise, in hopes of beating them on the frontiers, and preventing them from entering the province; but the success did not answer his expectations: his troops were broke, and totally routed; and he was forced to fave himself by slight. Having, in his confusion, left behind him two of his fons, who were very young, they fell into the hands of the Syrians, who put them both to a very cruel death.

Arabian historians relate, that Ali was so greatly affected with the unhappy fate of those two children, that he cursed the author of so great an outrage, and begged of God to deprive him of sense and reason. And they add, that Arthah (for so the general of Moawiyah, who had been guilty of that cruelty, was called) in a few years actually became a madman, and at last died in a fit of rage and despair.

At the time the Syrians were in Yenien, Ali sent thither four thousand horse, under Hegyra 40. the conduct of a captain, named Jariah, to pursue Arthah. But this succour was of no use to the inhabitants of the country; for so soon as the enemy had entered it, they plundered it from one end to the other with the smost expedition, and retired with great precipitation; insomuch that they were returned to their own country by the time Jariah reached Yemen.

Amidst these missortunes a new calamity Okail goes befel Ali, which the more sensibly afflicted wiyah. him, as it was caused by his own brother.

Okail, for that was the Musfulman's name, was so base to abandon Ali, and join Moawiyah, who received him with open arms, and affigned him a great revenue. Okail alledged no other reason for his desertion, but that his brother had not maintained him suit-

ably to his rank.

At this very time a conspiracy was formed with intent to destroy the two competitors for the Caliphate and Amru. The project was contrived by three of the Karegites, (men most zealous for the advancement of their sect) who being met together at Mecca, fell into discourse on the battle of Naharwan, in which four thousand of their brethren lost their lives.

After having exalted the merit, and be- A conspiracy wailed the loss, of those who were killed in to kill Ali, that battle, they debated amongst themselves and Amru.

what

AL 1. Hegyra 40. Ch. ar. 660.

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what had occasioned those intestine divisions which had so long rent the state; and having unanimously agreed that Ali, Moawivah, and Amru were the sole authors of them, they resolved to dispatch them all, boing firmly persuaded that on the death of those three persons, whom they called erroneous Imams, their country would be restored to its usual tranquillity.

These Karegites were called Abdalrahmanebn-Melgem, Barak-ebn-Abdallah, and Amru-ebn-Beker. And after having held several conferences, the first of them undertook to go to Cufah, and give a good account of Ali; the second engaged to do the same in regard to Moawiyah; and the third promised to make

away with Amru.

These three men having thus resolved to execute their design, pitched upon the time of the solemn assembly of the Mussulmen at Mecca, when they might be sure the chiefs would not be from home, and would be more slenderly accompanied than usual. The conspirators, with a view to secure the success of the enterprize, poisoned their swords; after which each man went his way towards that place where he was to strike his blow.

Moawiyah is wounded, but recovers.

Barak arriving at Damascus, gained admittance as one of Moawiyah's retinue; and on the appointed day, perceiving a favourable opportunity, he smote him in the reins. This event threw the courtiers into the greatest consternation;

consternation; but the wound was not mortal; ALL and though the sword was poisoned, he had Hegyra 40. fuch speedy and effectual assistance, that in a short time he was perfectly cured.

It is related that the surgeon who was called in to dress him, having searched and considered the wound, gave him his choice either to have it cauterized, or to drink a potion th t would render him incapable of generation. Moawiyah without hessitation chose the latter, and had no other children than fuch as were born previous to his affaffination.

As to the assissin he was immediately Punishment of feized, for he neither strove to conceal or de-the affassin, fend himself, but readily confessed the plot with fuch an unconcern as amazed those who were appointed to examine him. He was condemned to have his hands and feet cut off; after which, further punishment was inflicted on him, and it is said he survived the loss of his limbs many years, and was married*.

Amru-ebn-Beker, who had undertaken to Amru escapes assassinate Amru-ebn-al-As, missed his blow of the assassin. by an accident. For the latter having been feized with a violent cholick on the day fixed for his affaffination, did not go to the mosque

^{*} It is related that one of Moawiyah's friends, hearing in what manner Barak had been punished, and that he had taken a wife, faid, it was by no means reasonable that the assassin, who had prevented Moawiyah from having children, should have any of his own, and that he killed him with his own hand. Ockley's History of the Saracens vol. II. fol. 74.

ALI. Hegyra 40. Ch. ær. 660. to perform the office, but sent one of his friends, whom he desired to officiate in his stead. The assassin not knowing him, and mistaking him for Amru, gave him a wound, of which he dropped down dead. The murderer, who did not fly the place, was immediately seized, and being informed that he had killed Charijah, he said, without the least concern, "I designed Amru, but God defigned another."

Abdalrahman enters into a league with a woin his defign

to kill Ali.

The third of these conspirators, Abdalrahman, was more successful in the execution of his wicked designs against Ali, than his two man, who en-companions; for being arrived at Cufah, he courages him hired lodgings at the house of a woman whose nearest relations had been killed at the battle of Naharwan, and who on that account entertained a violent inclination of being revenged on the Caliph. Abdalrahman having met with an opportunity of sounding her inclinations, which he found quite favourable to his designs, frankly confessed to her that he was come thither with a full resolution to rid them of the author of their misfortunes.

The woman, pleased at this resolution, promised him her utmost assistance. Abdalrahman, with a view to fix her more firmly in his interest, made her an overture of marriage. She did not much decline the offer, but answered, that she required of the man who proposed to take her to wife three things as a dowry; namely, three thousand drachmas of

filver,

filver, a slave of each sex, and Ali's head. Abdalrahman instantly accepted the condi- Hegyra 40. tions, and at the time appointed for executing

his defign she joined with him two other men, named D swan and Shabib, to bear him

company, as d affift him in case of need.

It is said that Ali, during all the month of Ali's presages Ram dan, in which he was killed, had fre- of his approaching presages of his death, and had more death. than once dropped words to that purpose, when he was in private with his friends. It was visible to all about him that he was overwhelmed with the deepest melancholy, and that he had great inward conflicts. He frequently talked to himself, and was once overheard to fay, "Alas! my heart, there is need of patience, for there is no remedy against death."

On that day which was to terminate the life of the unfortunate Caliph, he left his house early in the morning to go to the mosque As he crossed his court-yard, a great number of domestic birds uttered loud cries, which being observed by one of his slaves, he threw a stick at them to make them quiet, but the Caliph said to him, "Let them alone, for their cries are only lamentations fore-

boding my death."

The three affassins waited for Ali at the He is assassidoor of the mosque, and as he was ready to nated. enter, they feigned a quarrel amongst themfelves, and drew their swords. Darwan made a stroke at Ali, but missed him, and the blow

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ALI. Hegyra 40. Ch. ær. 660. blow fell on the gate of the mosque. Abdalrahman struck him on the head, in the very place where he had before received a wound at the battle of Ahzab, which was fought in Mahomet's time, and the stroke was mortal.

Two of his murderers are taken, and punished.

The blow given, the three villains fled without being apprehended. Darwan crept home, where he was killed by a perfolio had feen him with his fword drawn against Ali, and Shabib ran away with so much speed, that he escaped, and was never taken.

As to Abdalrahman, he seemed at first terrified at the thoughts of the crime he had committed, and strove to conceal himself in a corner of the mosque, but he was soon found with his sword drawn. For some time that affassin stoutly denied the fact, but he shortly afterwards openly confessed it, and was brought before Ali, who delivered him into the custody of his eldest son Hassan, with orders to let him want for nothing, and that if he died of his wound, the murderer should not be put to a painful and lingering death, but should be executed at one blow. Ali died about the fifth day after he was wounded, and Ali's commands were punctually executed*. $\mathbf{A}\mathbf{s}$

* This is the account given by D'Herbelot of the death of that assassin, which he probably took from Persian authors. But Tabari and Abulpheda, authors of great note amongst the Arabians, relate it in a very different manner. A ulpheda says that his hand was first cut off, and then his foot on the opposite side: that next they put out his eyes with a red hot iron, then cut out his tongue, and afterwards burned him;

As to the Caliph's person, he had a very All. red face, large eyes, a prominent belly; his Hegyra 40. Ch. ær. 660. head was bald, but his beard thick, and his breast hairy. His physiognomy was pleasing, Description of florid, and youthful, and his countenance was usually covered with a smile.

Amongst the surnames or honourable titles Titles behigh the Mussulmen bestow on Ali, there slowed on the are two principal ones, to wit, Wasi, and Mortada, or Mortadi.* The first of which signifies in Arabic, legatee, mandatary, executor of a man's will, and heir, that is of Mahomet. The other means, beloved by, or acceptable to God; and even in his life time they called him Esed-Aliâh-Algalib, the victorious lion of God. His followers have also given him other titles; the Shiites in particular (who might be called his adorers) call him Faid-al-Anwar, the distributer of lights or graces; and in Persian, Shah Mordman, or the king of men.

However, these great eulogies did not prevent his name, and that of all his family,

to which he adds, the curse of God be upon him. The account given by Abulpheaa seems much the more probable, considering the heinousness of the crime, and the temper of that people. For though it is not impossible that Ali might give such orders, yet it is scarce credible that they were so mercifully executed: but after what manner soever he was put to death, the hereticks consider him as a martyr.

Ockley's History of the Saracens. vol. II. fol. 78.

* From whence European travellers have corruptly called him Mortis Ali, which the readers have mistaken for his name. Ockley vol. II. fol. 81.

from

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A 1 1. Hegyra 40. Ch. ær. 660.

from being cursed, and their persons excommunicated in all the mosques of the empire, under the dominion of the house of Ommi-yah, from Moawiyah to the time of Omarebn-Abdalaziz (the eight Caliph of that family) who suppressed this solemn malediction.

There were also some other Caliphso race of Abbas, who expressed a great aversion to Ali, and all his posterity*. On the contrary, the Fatemite Caliphs of Egypt caused his name to be joined with that of Mahomet, in the publication of the times of prayer, which they made from the minarets of their mosques.

Place of Ali's fepulchre.

Ali was buried near Cufah, and it is faid that his sepulchre was kept hid during the reign of all the princes of the house of Ommiyah, and that it was not discovered till the reign of the Abassians, which is scarce credible. However, in the year of the Hegyra 376. A. C. 977, Samsam Aldoulat, a prince of the race of the Buians, who reigned at Bagdat under the Caliph Thaï, built a sumptuous monument over it, which the Persians generally call Kunbud-Faid-Alanwar, the dome of the dispenser of lights and graces. And though the tomb of Ali is so well known to be near Cufah, yet some of his sect believe him to be still alive, and affirm that he will

^{*} Namely, Motaded, and Motawakel, to whom they fay he appeared in a dream, and threatened them with his indignation.

come at the end of the world, and fill the the earth with justice. Others are so extra-Hegyra 40. Vagant as to make him a divine person. Ch. ær. 66. The more moderate, indeed, say that he is not truly God, but that in many things he

partakes of the divine nature.

Ali is held in great reputation for wisdom Works of a ongst all the Mahometans. There is ex- which Ali was the author. tant of his writing a centiloquium, or a hundred sentences *, which have been translated from the Arabic into Turkish and Persian, and the other languages of Upper Asia. But the most celebrated piece is intituled Jefrwe-Jame: it is written upon parchment in mysterious characters, intermixed with figures, wherein are said to be contained all the important events that have happened or shall happen from the beginning of Musfulmanism to the end of the world. Jaafer Sadec has deciphered (in some manner) a part of this parchment, (which is deposited in the hands of Ali's family.) As to the entire explication of it, that in their opinion is reserved for the 12th Imam, who is furnamed, by way of excellence, the Mohdi, or Grand Director. This Imam hath appeared amongst them: but they believe that God, having taking him under his protection at the time he was perfecuted by the Caliphs of Bagdat, carried him

Ockley, vol. II. fol. 84.

^{*} There is likewise a collection of verses under the title of Anwar Alokail, and in the bodleian library is a large book of his ntences.

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A L 1. Hegyra 40. Ch. ær. 660.

away into a place unknown to them, and that he will not return till the last day, in order to bring the whole world to embrace Mahometism.

Maxims of Ali.

Besides the books we have mentioned, we find in authors many sentences and apoph-thegms under the name of Ali, which are sull of good sense and instruction, and clearly nifest the rectitude of his heart.

The author of Rabi Alakyar quotes the following, which is one of the most instructive; "He that would be rich without means, powerful without subjects, and subject without a master, let him serve God, and

he will find these three things."

He one day made a reply, which might have been sufficient to have silenced all such as reproached him on account of the seuds and divisions which had prevailed in the state from the beginning of his reign. One of his captains having pertly asked him, why the reigns of Abubecre and Omar, his predecessors, were so peaceable, and the reign of Othman and his own were so full of troubles; Ali wisely answered, "The reason is plain; Othman and I served Abubecre and Omar, during their reigns: and Othman and I had none to serve us but you, and such as are like you."

There is also another maxim of Ali (in the book intitled Rabi Alakyar) which strikes at the conduct of those who, from a spirit of party, in the sequel formed the sect of Ali.

Those

Those sectaries, to distinguish themselves ALI. from the rest of the Mussulmen, wore a tur- Hegyra 40. ban of a different colour and particular factor. ar. 660. shion, and also traced their hair after a manner

quite different from the rest of the disciples of Mahomet. "Take great care," said he, never to separate yourselves from the sellownever to separate yourselves from the fellowof other Mussulmen; for he that separates himself from them, belongs to the devil, as the sheep that leave the slock belong to the wolf; therefore give no quarter to him that marcheth under the standard of schism, though he hath my turban on his head, for he car ies with him the infallible mark of a man that is out of the right way."

This fentence mainfer ly condemns those who vaunt themselves for being of his sect, such as are the Persians at this time, some of the princes of the Usbecks, beyond the river Gihon, and several mighty monarchs in the Indies; who, by putting on Ali's turban, have separated themselves from the rest of the Mussulmen.

Hosain Waez also recites this passage of Ali, in his paraphrase and commentary upon the Alcoran; "God hath given to men two Imams, that is to say two pontists, or mediators between him and them: the first is the prophet, who is gone and is no more amongst them; the second which remains, and shall continue always with them, is prayer, which they make to obtain pardon of sins.".

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A L I. Hegyra 40. Ch. ær. 660. These sectaries mutually bestow on each other the name of Shiites*, which properly signifies a scandalous reprobate sect; but it hath been particularly applied to the sectaries of Ali, who have from time to time raised great disturbances in the musfulman empire, in order to set on the throne the descendants of that Caliph, to whom alone they aftert the throne of right belongs. Of this frequent examples will hereafter appear, when we treat of the dynasties which they have formed, under the several denominations of Alians, Fatimites, Edrissites, and Ishmaelites.

Ali, as it has been mentioned in the life of Mahomet, married Fatima, the daughter of that prophet. After her death he had several other wives, among whom he had fifteen sons and eighteen daughters. Fatimah brought him three sons, to wit, Hassan, Hossein and Mohassan, the latter of whom died in his infancy. The two former (as well as Ben Haniphiyah, Abbas, and Amru, his children by other wives) lest posterity behind them, and Hassan and Hosein, and their descendants, are remarkable in the musfulman history, on account of the eminent persons they produced, and the revolutions they occasioned in the several ages of Mahometism.

HASSAN.

^{*} The Arabians who call themselves Sonnites, that is, obfervers of the tradition and orthodox, do not allow the name, but call themselves Medheb; that is, a sect which follows approved opinions: and the sect of Ali call themselves Adaliyah, which signifies the religion of them that follow justice, and the right side. Ockley vol. II. page. 88.

HASSAN.

The FIFTH CALIPH.

liph, was unanimously chosen to succeed his ther. So soon as Ali's friends per-A'iresus to ceived his wound to be mortal, they would ceffor, have prevailed on him to name a successor; but, besides the reasons he might have not to nominate any person to a dignity, in the possession of which he had met with so many difficulties and crosses, he was resolved to follow the example of the prophet, and not to name a person to succeed him. This resolution he imparted to his friends, and told them, that into the hands of the people he resigned the power of appointing a ruler, whose reign he hoped would be more undifturbed than his had been.

Hassan having been thus appointed Caliph Hassan chosen without opposition, the people swore fealty to him, after he had taken an oath to stand by the Koran, and the tradition of the apostle. But how great soever his satisfaction might be to ascend the throne by so universal a confent of the people, yet he soon experienced that he was very unsit to bear with dignity the weight of a crown.

So mild and peaceable was his disposition, Character of that he had an aversion to all noise and tu-Hassan.

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THEN OF

Hassan. Hegyra 40. Ch. ær. 660.

mult, and in particular to those of war. And as he rather inherited his father's piety than his valour, so he seemed fitter for a mosque, than the command of an army.

He marches against Moa-wiyah.

However he was soon forced to take up arms, on the entreaties of his subjects, who earnestly required that the war with Morwiyah should be renewed. He therefore began his march towards Syria at the head of a strong army, preceded by twelve thousand men under Kais, whom he appointed to command them.

Moawiyah having also taken the sield, marched out to meet the Caliph. Kais with his twelve thousand soldiers (though greatly inferior in number to the troops of Moawiyah) acted with so much prudence and conduct as to keep the enemy at bay, without risking a battle; and some smart skirmishes having passed, Kais strongly intrenched himself, and quietly waited the arrival of the main army.

A tumult in his army.

In a short time Hassan joined him, and preparations were made to attack the Syrians. But one of the Caliph's men having been murdered in that juncture, and he proposing to punish the offenders, the troops mutinied, and the officers engaged in the dispute: In a word, they came to extremities even in the Caliph's presence; and so greatly were they wanting in respect both to his person and dignity, that they violently threw him from his seat, and it was with difficulty he escaped, after having received a wound.

This

This accident having happened near Madaien, (whither he had brought his army) Hegyra. 41. the Caliph retired to the castle there, to seThe Caliph
cure himself from the fury of the mutineers. The Caliph
set of the castle there, to set of the cure himself from the fury of the mutineers. But that step had like to have been fatal to daien. him: the governor's nephew strongly incited his uncle to take away the Callph's life, but he would not hear of so base a proposal. The nephew would then have prevailed on him at least to take Hassan prisoner, and send him bound to Moawiyah; but this he also generoully refused, urging the sacred laws of hospitality, the laws of honour, in a word, how shameful a thing it would be, so to betray the son of the daughter of God's apostle. He therefore declared that he would not only leave the Caliph at liberty, but also procure him all the comforts and conveniencies in his power.

The mind of Hassan was filled with dis-Hassan requietude. The insolence of his troops, the solves to abscontempt they would shew for him should he leave the insult unpunished, the danger he foresaw in inslicting punishment on the guilty, and moreover the great dislike he had to continuing a war, the first events of which had proved so unprosperous to him, conspiced to make him form a resolution of abdicating a dignity which he had never been ambitious of obtaining, and in defence of which he had not the least inclination to sacrifice his quiet, and much less to expose his life to the hazard of war.

G 2

Hossein

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Hassan. Hegyra 41. Ch. ær. 661. Hossein, his youngest brother, to whom he communicated his design, used his utmost endeavours to prevent him from carrying it into execution: but though he remonstrated to him the great disparagement and reflection it would cast on the memory of their father, Hassan persited in his resolution. He foresaw that by a voluntary abdication, he should make a friend of Moawiyah, who out of gratitude would not fail amply to reward him for making so considerable a facrisice, which would enable him to pass a quiet easy life in some obscure corner, a condition well besitting a man, who had neither courage nor ambition.

Moawiyah, who had spies even in the Caliph's court, was soon made acquainted with Hassan's design; and for that reason he ordered his generals to make no attempt on the Caliph's army, but to keep on the desensive. In the mean time he set his emissaries to work, who so artfully managed the intrigue, that the treaty was concluded before it was publickly known to be in agitation.

Conditions required by Hassan of Moawiyah in return for the surrendering up the Caliphate to him.

Hassan having thus fixed his resolution, wrote to Moawiyah; he informed him that the grief he selt to see the faithful Mussul-men exposed to the calamities of a civil war, he was induced to put an end to the dispute by sacrificing his own interest; that he was determined to resign the throne, and that in order to prevent a continu-

ance of the war, which might happen Hassan. from the attempts of a new rival, he had Hegyra 41. ch. ær. 661. resolved to resign it into his hands. He added, that as so valuable a present merited some grateful return, he had three conditions to require of him; first, that Moawiyah should give him all the money in the treasury of Cutah; secondly, a considerable estate in Persia; and thirdly, that Moawiyah should make no reproachful reslection upon his father Ali.

As Moawiyah could not pay too dear for an abdication so advantageous to him, he readily granted the conditions*, and a treaty was forthwith drawn up, which was signed by both parties. This being done, Moawiyah and Hassan went together to Cusah, where the ceremony of the abdication was to be

performed.

A general affembly of the people was ap-Hassan abdipointed to be held in the chief mosque, when cates the Ca-Hassan having mounted the pulpit, and given praise and glory to God for inspiring him with the means of restoring peace to the Mussulmen, expressed himself in the following terms: "Moawiyah contended with me touching the Caliphate, to which I had a a greater right than he; but I chose rather to surrender it to him, and thereby spare the effusion of mussulman blood. The world is

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liable

^{*} It is said that Moawiyah refused to grant the third article; upon which Hassan requested that he would at least forbear to make such restections in his hearing; which Moawiyah promised, but did not perform. Ockley's History of the Saracens. vol. II fol. 95.

The HISTORY of



Hegyra 41. Ch. ær. 661.

HASSAN. liable to changes, and even this affair also hath

a time prefixed for its duration* "

These last words had like to have raised a quarrel. Moawiyah interrupted the Caliph, commana d him to sit down, and told him it was impr ident to give the people to understand that the step he was then taking might.

be productive of fresh disturbances.

Hassan, passing over unnoticed this reproach of Moawiyah, coolly resumed his discourse, and closed it with informing the people that he had three things to lay to their charge: first, the murder of his father; secondly, the affronts offered to his own person; and thirdly, the robbing him of his goods. For refuse to give though Moawiyah had promised him the the treasure to treasure of Cufah, they refused to deliver it up to him, insisting that it was their property, and could not be alienated without their consent.

The Cufians Hassan.

Moawiyah makes him amends.

This refusal of the Cusians was grievous to Hassan, and indeed Moawiyah could not but be highly dissatisfied with it. However he did not think fit in any manner to controvert their design. For as he was possessed of the

Ockley, vol. II. fol. 96.

Caliphate,

^{*} It may be inferred from this account, that Hassan voluntarily made the above harangue. But Tabari El-Makin says, it was owing to a hint given to Moawiyah by Amru-ebn-Alas of the necessity of such a testimony of the abdication; which being importunately urged, Moawiyah consented to it against his own opinion, and some authors say he was so displeased with the close of Hassan's speech, that he severely chid pressing him to it, and others say he was never afterwards heartily reconciled to Amru.

Caliphate, which he had so long aimed at, Hassan. his whole care was employed in establishing Ch. ær. 661. his power; and he freely assigned to Hassan a revenue of about three mill:ons per annum;

to which he from time to time added very

valuable presents.

Hassan departed from Cusah with Hossein Hassan and his brother; they retired to Medina, where his brother they led a private and retired life. How-dina. ever, Moawiyah strove to rouse them from their state of inactivity, when the Kharegites (those hereticks that gave Ali so much disturbance) took up arms against the new Caliph. He wrote to Hassan to march out against them, and to restrain them till he could bring up his army. But Hassan answered, that he had given over all public affairs in order to avoid war, and that if he had been inclined to fight at all, he should have made war against him.

In this manner he passed seven or eight Hassan's years, that is to say all the rest of his days, death. at Medina: he died in the forty-ninth year of the Hegyra, being but forty seven-years old. It is affirmed that his days were hastened by Moawiyah, who suborned his wife to poison him. It is also said he was induced to commit that crime, to get rid of a promise he had made to Hassan, that he would not name a successor during Hassan's life, and would refer the election to a certain number of persons whom Hassan was to appoint.

G 4

When

HASSAN. Hegyra 41. Ch. ær. 601.

Moawiyah fubboins to poison him

When Moawiyah had fixed himself on the throne, he formed a resolution of making the Caliphate hereditary in his family, and of naming Yezid his son to be his successor; and Hailan's wife in order to avoid the reproaches of Hassan on account of 1 is breaking the conditions stipulated between hem, he resolved to put an end to that prince's life. That he might be more sure of success, he practised with Hassan's wife, and so won her over to his interest by a seigned promise of marriage *, that she consented to poison her husband.

The blow struck, she required of Moawiyah a performance of his promise, but he treated her request with contempt, and offered her a large sum of money, which she

accepted of, for her pains.

When the time of Hassan's death drew near, his brother, who perceived he was poisoned, earnestly begged he would inform him who had administred the deadly potion, and swore he would take suitable vergeance on him: but Hassan answered with great calmness, "O brother! the life of this world is made up of nights which speedily vanish away: let the guilty wretch alone, till he and I appear together before God."

He directed by his will that his body should be buried near Mahomet .his grand-

^{*} Ockley says that Hassan's wife was suborned by ezid the son of Moawiyah, who promised her marriage; but when she had murdered her husband, he wisely resused to trust himself in her embraces.

HASSAN.

Aicsha will

not permit

the prophet.

father. Aïesha at first contented to it, but finding that the whole family of Ommiyah Hegyra 41. opposed it, she afterwards retracted her consent: she declared that the house where Mihomet was buried was her property, and Hailan to be Hassan's body should not be laid there, so they buried near laid him in the common burying place.

As his reign was of no longer duration than fix months, or thereabouts, some authors have not reckoned him amongst the number of Caliphs. But I have followed Ebn-Athir, and other writers, who have not thought fit to omit him: for he actually enjoyed the fupreme dignity, and though his reign was short, yet he was as much a Caliph as any of those who possessed the throne many years.

Hassan had many children *, the most famous of whom was Abdallah, whose posterity caused great disturbances in the musful-

man empire.

As to Hossein, his branch was chief of the sect of Ali, because it maintained possession of the office of Imam +, the principal ecclefiaftical dignity among the Musfulmen. It is related of this Caliph, that a woman having once presented him with a bunch of fine

Ockley vol. II. fol. 105.

^{*} Ockley says fifteen males and five females.—He adds, thet his wives were all remarkably fond of him, though he frequent'y divorced them, and married others.

⁺ Some amongst the sectaries of Ali drew the descent of the In. . is from Abdallah, one of his children, who had a fon named Yahia, but the Persians will have the succession to pass from Hassan to his brother Hossein.

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Hegyra 41.

HASSAN. herbs, he asked her if she was a free woman, she told him she was a slave, but that Ch. ær. 661. the present she had made him was rare and curious. Hassan gave her her liberty, and said to those present, "We have received this instruction from God himself, that we ought to return to those who give us gifts,something of more value than that which they give us" Meaning that this moral instruction is couched in the Koran, which the Musfulmen look on as the word of God.

> They also relate a wonderful instance of his moderation. A slave having spilled a dish of scalding broth on him as he sat at table, instantly fell at his feet, and repeated these words of the Koran, " Paradise is open to those that govern their passion". Hassan answered, I am not in passion. The slave went on, "and to those who pardon offences"; I pardon yours, said Hassan. The flave went on to the end of the verse, which says: "God loves those above all who do good to such as have offended them". Hassan concluded: since it is so, I give you your liberty, and four hundred drachmas of filver.

> The Mussulmen quote this sentence of Hassan; "The tears which are let fall through devotion, should not be wiped off, nor the water which remains upon the body after legal washing; because this wat makes the face of the faithful shine, when they appear in the presence of God."

> > M O A-

MOAWIYAH.

The SIXTHCALIPH.

So foon as Hassan had solemnly surren-Moawiyah. Selfion of the Caliphate, Moawiyah took pos-Hegyra 41. Selfion of that dignity, and rendered it hereditary in his family, whereas it was before Commence-him elective. In his person began the dy-ment of the Dynasties of the Ommiyans, so famous in the Dynasties of the Ommiarabian history, which took its name from yans. Ommiyah, who was great-grandfather to Moawiyah.

The father of this Caliph was named Abu-Sofian, and was one of the chiefs of the noble tribe of the Coraifchites, of which Mahomet was also. When that prophet took up arms in defence of his doctrine, the Coraifchites who were extremely averse to it, took up arms also, and appointed Abu Sofian generalissimo of their forces.

That general fignalized himself on several occasions; but in spight of all his efforts, Mahomet was almost ever victorious. At last he was convinced of the truth of Mahomet's pretensions, and on the day of the famous v fory of Bedre, he publickly embraced Mahometism.

The example of so considerable a proselyte had the greatest influence on the rest of the tribe, who, for the most part, became sollowers



MOAWIY IH followers of Mahomet. It is related that Hegyia 41. Abu-Sofian after his conversion, begged Ch. ær. 661. three things of Mahomet. The fift, that as he had commanded the forces of the Infidels against the posessors of the true religion, he might now (in order to expiate his crime) command the army of the Faithful against the Unbelievers. In the next place he requested that the prophet would appoint Moawiyah to be his fecretary; and his third request was, that Mahomet would take to wife one of his daughters named Gasah. The two former petitions were granted, but Mahomet excused himself, and declined granting the last; alledging some reason, (which the arabian author has not mentioned) why he could not legally comply with his request. Abu-Sofian was accordingly appointed commander of the troops, and Moawiyah to be Mahomet's secretary, in which post he continued many years.

After the death of his father, Moawiyah gained so great a reputation under the Caliphs, Mahomet's successors, that on the conquest of Syria, he was appointed governor of that province; and during his government he gained so many friends, and raised his power to so high a pitch, that at last he caused himself to be proclaimed Caliph in a most irregular and unconstitutional manner. By means of his consummate bravery and policy, he removed every obstacle in his way to the throne, and, spight of the utmost efforts

efforts of his enemies, he prevented any ill Moawiyan. effects that might have refulted from the in- Hegyra 41. sufficiency of his election.

The beginning of his reign was disturbed Hegyra 42. by an insurrection of the Kharegites, who A new insurwere, as we have already observed, declared rection of the enemies to all subordination; and who were Kharegites. not properly dealt with at their rise. Ali had indeed heat them; but had not effectually rooted them out. And as the weak conduct of the last Caliph was by no means calculated to render him formidable, they were inspired with a fresh inclination to take up arms against the government.

Moawiyah, unwilling to fall into the same fault which his predecessor had committed, made the most speedy preparations to reduce a party, who so openly defied his authority, and sent the Syrians out against them. But the success did not answer his expectations; the Syrians were defeated in several actions, and the Kharegites became more insolent, and were more to be feared.

Upon this the Caliph had recourse to the Moawiyah inhabitants of Cufah, and the people of Irak, inhabitants of and intreated them to give a proof of their Cufah and fincerity and obedience to him, by opposing Irak to take a set of wretches who set at nought all law against the and religion, and who being under no re-Kharegites. straint, had made war against them without the cast pretext, and might one day become masters of their country.



MOAWIYAH. Hegyra 42. Chr. ær. 662.

These remonstrances had the desired effect. The Cuffans and Irakians took up arms, and marched out in battle-array against the Kharegites. The latter, reflecting that the junction of those troops with the Syrians would form too powerful a party to be refisted, made some attempts to prevail on them to remain neuter; and as they knew that the greatest part of them had acknowledged Moawiyah from no other motive than the hopes of extinguishing the flames of civil war, and that they in no wife approved the manner in which he raised himself to the throne, they sent to them a deputy, who took a very artful method to persuade them that it would be most prudent and advantageous for them, not to engage in the war they had declared against Moawiyah.

After many conferences had been held, the Kharegite deputy told them, that confidering their opinion of things, no prejudice could ensue to them by their not engaging in the dispute: "For", said he, ' is not Moawiyah our common enemy? let us therefore make war upon him: if we kill him, you are rid of a tyrant, and if he destroys us, you will be free from all disquie-

tude on our account"

The Kharegites are totally defeated.

The Irakians refused to lend an ear to he advice of the Kharegites; they though it a matter of the utmost importance, and the business of every rational man, to join in the destruction of a sect who strove to be independant of law, religion and fociety.

They

They therefore furiously attacked them; and Moawiyan. after several actions, in which each party Hegyra 42. Chi. ar. 662. a bloody battle was fought, which decided the fate of the Kharegites. The Irakians gained a compleat victory, and the opposite

After the destruction of this sect, Arabia Hegyra 43. for some time enjoyed a calm. However, Chr. ar. 663. little is to be met with in history, worth ob-Death of servation, from the time of that battle to Amru.

fervation, from the time of that battle to the forty-third year of the Hegyra. And even that year is remarkable only on account of the death of the famous Amru-ebn-al-As, fo renowned for his courage and skill in the art of war. He was one of the first heroes of Musfulmanism; and Mahomet used to say of him, (as tradition goes) "That there was no truer musfulman, nor none more stedfast in the faith, than Amru."

He was justly celebrated by historians on account of the quickness of his natural parts, his valour, his capacity, and his exploits in

Egypt; even the misfortunes he underwent furnished the writers of those days with a subject for eulogiums. He died in his go-

vernment of Egypt * in which he was con-

^{*} Amru was fent by Omar into Egypt, which he conque d, and was made governor thereof. Othman continue him in that post four years, and then dismissed him: upon hich he retired, and led a private life in Palestine. After Othman's death, he went over to Moawiyah on his invitation, and had (as has been already related) a considerable share in the controversy between Ali and Moawiyah.

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Moawiyah, together withe posses-Hegyra 43. fion and property of all the Ch. ær. 663. opulent province, on condition only of maintaining, at his proper expence, a sufficient body of troops, for defence of the country.

Besides those qualities which bespeak a great general, Amru possessed others which gained him great credit and esteem amongst his countrymen. He greatly excelled in eloquence and poetry. Before he embraced Mahometism, he wrote a satirical lampoon against Mahomet. This step he afterwards greatly regretted, and even at the time of his death, he made a very pathetic and masculine discourse to his children, in which he laments his having exercised his wits in exposing the prophet.

Rise of Ziyad.

About this time Moawiyah formed a refolution of acknowledging publickly as his brother, a Mussulman, a person of merit, named Ziyàd, who had distinguished himfelf amongst the Arabians for his abilities, masterly eloquence, and military exploits. He was the son of Abu-Sosian as well as Moawiyah, but as his birth was illegitimate, Abu-Sofian had not owned him *; for which reason they gave him the name of Ziyàd-ben-Abihi, that is to say, the son of an unknown person.

He gave early proofs of what he one day be. Amru, who was a very good

^{*} It is said, he durst not own him for fear of Omar's severity.

judge of mankind, having once heard him Mornitan speak in an assembly of the companions of Hegyri 43. the prophet, with great force and solidity, took much notice of him, and publickly said, that had he been of the tribe of the Coratischites, he would be fit to govern the Arabians.

The Caliphs whom he served did not fail to reward his merit. He above all other things distinguished himself on account of his conduct in Persia, at the time he was employed by Ali to transact some public affairs in that extensive province; in the management of which he shewed himself to be master of such rare talents, as soon acquired him the greatest reputation.

When Hassan abdicated the Caliphate, Z1- He sides with yad absolutely refused to a knowledge Mod- the Alians. wiyah, though he was his natural brother. The regard he bore to the memory of Ali,

his benefactor, induced him to slight the new Caliph, and to join the party of the

Alians

Moawiyah, who was throughly sensible of Morwiyah Ziyad's merit, was grieved to think how pre-gun him to judicial an enemy of his abilities must prove to his party. He therefore resolved to secure him in his interest, and imparted his design to Mogeirah-ehn-Saïd, governor of Cusah, who readily offered his service to bring over Ziyad from the party of the Alians: and Mogeirah was the more likely to succeed, as he had kept up a correspontional concerts. He dence

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Moawivan dence with Ziyad, from the time he Hegyra 43. had done him a piece of service in a matter

of great consequence *.

Mogeirah made so good use of his friend-ship with Ziyad, and offcred him such advantageous terms, that at last they prevailed on him to join Moawiyah, and acknowledge him as Caliph. Ile was received at court with all possible marks of esteem and respect, and his brother assured him that he would soon put him in a condition of occupying the chief posts of the state, without the least fear of being for the future reproached with the baseness of his original.

He acknowledges him for his brother.

In consequence of this promise he caused proper witnesses to be examined in an assembly of the people, to prove that Ziyad was his brother by the sather's side +, and after a solemn and formal enquiry it was openly declared that he was the real son of Abu-

* Mogeirah was accused of committing adultery. Ziyad, who was then Cadi or judge of the place where the crime was committed, either through favour, or for wan of legal proof, found means to acquit him, and caused the witnesses to be severely scourged as calumniators. See Sale's Translation of the Koran, chap. 24th, entitled Light, fol. 287.

† The purport of the evidence was, that Abu-Sofian in the days of ignorance, before drinking of wine was made a fin by the Koran, travelling in Thayef, refreshed himself at a public house, where he lay with Ziyad's mother, then married to a Greek slave. The old man that kept the house was alive, and gave evidence touching the co versation of Abu-Sosian with Somyah; and his evide ce was so strong, that it would have amounted to a sufficient proof in a case of impotency.

Ockley, vol. II. p. 114. Sofian; Sofian; and Moawiyah acknowledged him Moawiyah. to be his own brother, sprung as well as him-Hegyra 43. Ch. er. 663. Ch. er. 663. and consequently capable of enjoying the

chief posts in the state *.

Moawiyah's relations were greatly difgusted at and bitterly complained of this step, which at the same time that it procured to Ziyad much greater honour and advantages than he could otherwise have expected, had brought on an enquiry highly disadvantagious to the character of old Abu-Sosian, (who had lived and died with a good reputation) as well as a disparagement on the whole family.

Moawiyah disregarded the murmurs and complaints that were uttered on this account, and thought only of usefully employing the great talents of Ziyad for the good of the state and the advancement of his own in-

terest.

He immediately appointed Ziyad to be Hegyra 44. governor of Basorah, whither it was necestary to send without delay some person of Ziyad is made resolution and ability, who, by a due exerageovernor of Basorah. tion of his authority, might put a stop to the disorders that had long reigned there.

H 2 Abdollah-

^{*} It was observed by Abulpheda, that this was the first time the oran was openly violated i a judicial way of proceeding; the child belonged to his legal father, the Greek slave the married his mother: And Mahomet has left it as a decision in such cases, "The child to the blankets, and the whose to the stone:" meaning, that the child should be brought up, and the whore stoned.

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Moawry and Abdallah-ebn-Amer had been lately removed Frank from the government of that city, because through too great a mildness and gentleness of disposition, he had suffered the country to be quite over-run with thieves and murderers. The Caliph fent in his room Hareth, who made some attempts to remedy the evils caused by Abdallah's lenity; but they had taken so deep root, that he could not possibly pluck them up. At last Ziyad was sent, as the most likely man to draw the fword, and chastise their insolence with exemplary punishments.

hood.

He disperses When he arrived at Basorah, things were the robbers in such a condition that it was not safe to the city and walk the streets, especially in the night-time, us neighbour-which was full of tumult and bloodshed. He therefore called a general affembly of the people, and in a severe speech * gave them to understand, that he was provided of the proper remedies to put an end to the insolent crimes which were continually committed there; but before he administred them, he was willing to inform those who were guilty, that they would do well to quit the city forthwith, for he would not spare one that fell into his hands.

^{*} Ziyad had an excellent talent at speaking in public, being reckoned the best orator next to Ali, who had hot his equal. One of the polite arabians used to say, t at he never heard a man speak well, but he wished he ould have done, being in pain for him lest he should slag, and irjure himself by speaking worse, Ziyad only excepted, for the more he spoke, the more he excelled.

He next published an order, forbidding all Moawiyan. persons, of what quality soever, to appear in Hegyra 44. the streets or any public place after the hour Cir. ær. 664. of evening-prayer, on pain of death: and that his orders might be put in execution, he appointed a strong guard to go the rounds, and put to death all they should find out of their houses after that hour.

This order might have been attended with inconveniencies, but as it was absolutely necessary that so great an evil should be remedied, it was rigorously put in execution. Two hundred persons were killed the first night; and this severe example made so strong an impression on the inhabitants, that scarce any person stirred out of his house after the limited time; however five were put to death the second night; but the third night passed with great tranquillity, and not a man suffered the penalty. Thus peace and safety was restored to the city, and thefts and robberies were no longer heard of.

Moawiyah was the better pleased to find Hegyra 45. that order was restored in Basorah, as he was Chr. ær. 665. apprehensive his enemies would take advan- the disorders tage of the tumult and confusion which pre-inseveral provailed there, to decry his government, or vinces. perhaps increase their party by sending some of their adherents for that purpose to the city. The severity, and at the same time the prudence of Ziyad's conduct in quelling the many disorders which he had found in Basorah, H 3



Moawrian Basorah, induced the Caliph to have re-Hegyra 45. course to him to bring about the same Chr. 21. 005. advantageous change in Sejestan and Chorasan, provinces of Persia, and in Bahrein and Amman, provinces of Arabia. The Caliph must have entertained a very high opinion of Ziyad's abilities, when he bestowed on him so many posts at a time, one of which alone would have found full employment for the common run of men.

> Nor did the Caliph unadvisedly bestow these employments on him; for though it might be supposed that he would have been overwhelmed by a multiplicity of business, yet he was superior to it all: and the more they committed to his care, the lighter was to him the burthen of his government. He was neither savage or cruel in his temper, though he executed strict justice; he did every thing in his power to maintain order, peace and tranquillity amongst the people; but at the same time he governed in a despotic manner, and would not suffer the least slight of his authority, or disobedience to his commands.

An example of this appears from the conduct of Hakem-ben-Amer, a musfulman captain. That officer having been fent by Ziyad to take a place *, succeeded ir the enterprize, killed a great number of the enemy, and brought off all the riches of the inhabitants; of which he immediately

^{*} Called mount Ashal.

fent advice to the governor. And Ziyad sent Moawiyah him back word, that the emperor of the Hegyra 45. Ch. ær. 605. faithful had commanded that all the gold and silver coin belonging to the booty should be laid apart, that it might be put into the treasury.

This order being contrary to a decisive rule in the * Koran, where it is said in express terms that only a fifth part of the spoil should be reserved for the treasury, and the rest be divided amongst the captors, Hakem did not think sit to obey †; but after having reserved the sisth part, according to the text, he distributed the residue amongst his troops. Ziyad having been informed of this step, sent a person to arrest Hakem, and would doubtless have inslicted an exemplary punish-

This chapter was occasioned by the high disputes touching the division of the spoils taken at the battle of Bedre, between the young men who fought, and the old men who had staid under the ensigns, the former insisting they were entitled to the whole, and the latter that they ought to have a share; and to end the contention Mahomet pretended to have received orders from heaven to divide the booty amongst them equally, after taking out a sisth part for the treasury. See Sale's translation of the Koran, chap. 8. fol. 139.

The sent Ziyad word that the authority of the book of God was superior to the emperor of the faithful's letter. For it is said, that though the heavens and the earth conspire together against a servant of God who puts his trust in him, he will find him a secure place of resuge, and a means of deliverance. Having divided the spoil according to the text, he expected no mercy, and said, O God! if I may find favour in thy sight, take me. His request was granted, and he died quickly after. Ockley's History of the Saracens, vol. His fol. 119. 120.

H 4

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Moan itali ment on him for his disobedience, had not He death foon taken him away Ch. ar. 605.

To this firmness and resolution of Ziyad the Caliph was therefore indebted for the establithment of his authority in many cities of the mussulman empire. He had the same obligation to divers other commanders whom he set over other places: but we are unable to give an historical account of the events which must have passed during that time, fince the arabian authors have afforded us no

light in that respect*.

Hegyia 46. Ch. ar. 666.

Moawiyah causes Abda. rahman, the fon of Kha-Icd, to be put to death.

They have been full as sparing even in regard to Moawiyah himself; they pass over several years of his Caliphate, in which they scarce mention him, and what they say is very little worth notice. For example, all we know of him in the 46th year of the Hegyra is, that having entertained a jealousy of Abdarrahman, son of the famous Khaled, who (being no ways inferior to his father either in point of courage or consuct) had

gained

^{*} This year died Zeid the son of Thabet, one of Mahomet's secretaries when he dictated the Koran. He wrote that copy which was used by the Imans at the command of Othman. Zeid was a man of the greatest parts of any of the age. He learned the Hebrew language in fifteen days, so as to be able to read the books of the Jews. He learned the Persian of one of Cosroes's ambassadors in eighteen days: and he learned Æthiopick, Greek and Coptic of one of Mahomet's flaves. He was fifteen years old at the battle of the dit h. He was a most pleasant and facetious man at home, and the most reserved abroad. Once he saw the people coming from prayers, and he hastened to get out of the way like one that did not care to be seen. He used to say, he that doth not reverence men, will not reverence God. Ockley, vol. II. p. 120.

gained the hearts of the foldiery, Moawiyah Moawiyah tampered with a christian servant of his, Hegyra 46. under promise of a great reward *, to posson his master, who was then in Syria, whilst the Caliph was employed in an expedition against the Greeks. The conditions were punctually performed on both sides; but the slave did not long enjoy the reward of his persidiousness. The son of Abdarrahman, who was also called Khaled, receiving information of his father's murder, went from Medina into Syria, and killed the assassing with his own hand. Upon this Moawiyah caused Khaled to be imprisoned, and did not set him at liberty till he had paid a pecuniary sine for the expiation of murder †

In a short time another event happened at Ziyad insultacusah, which made a great noise. Ziyad ed by the inbeing at the mosque in that city, ascended Cusah. the pulpit, and made a speech to the people, which lasted till the hour of prayer. A Musulman named Hejer (who was the strictest man then living in all things relating to the exercise of his religion) arose in the midst of the assembly, and cried out Salah, to prayers, and began to chant them, even whilst Ziyad was speaking: upon which the latter was forced to come down and

^{*} To remit his tribute, and give him the lieutenancy of Hems.

[†] This is a common practice in mahometan countries, paticularly in Persia, where the relations of the deceased may take their choice, either to have the murderer put into their hands to be put to death, or else to accept a pecuniary satisfaction. Vide Sale's Koran, chap. II. fol. 21.

Moawiyah. join with them, for the whole congregation

Hegyra 46. followed Hejer. Ch. ær. 666.

He informs the Caliph of to Basorah.

Ziyad at that time passed by the affront, but on his leaving the mosque he forthwith it, and retires wrote a letter to Moawiyah, in which he aggravated the infult, informed the Caliph that Hejer was a man-who paid no regard either to his sovereign, or those invested with his authority; that if he did not speedily take proper measures, the party of Ali would soon prevail in Cufah, and that Hejer was very capable of exciting the people to a revolt.

Upon this Ziyad forthwith retired to Baforah, to wait for the Caliph's answer, and left his lieutenant behind to manage public affairs in the best manner he could during his absence. But he soon received information that Hejer and some other inhabitants of Cufah had refused to acknowledge his deputy, and used to throw dust at him when he was

in his pulpit.

He returns to Cufah, to feize the rebels.

This information obliged Ziyad to come back to Cufah; he had received the Caliph's orders to imprison Hejer and his adherents, and calling an affembly of the people, he mounted the pulpit, and made them a very fevere speech. He told them, that the government had too long winked at their infolent and disobedient behaviour; and as they were daily trampling upon the Caliph's authority, by fetting at nought and infulting his lieutenants, it was high time to inflict an exemplary

emplary punishment on the guilty, and that Moawiyah he had received orders from the emperor of Hegyra 46. the faithful to see the same executed.

Hejer, who was a zealous friend to the Alians, was so enraged to hear Ziyad frequently give to Moawiyah the title of emperor of the faithful, that at last he cried out aloud in the assembly, "God curse thee, thou liest"; and at the same time he took up an handful of dust, and threw it in the governor's face.

Ziyad with great presence of mind contained his resentment; he cooly came down, went to prayers amongst the people, and quietly retired to the castle. The next day he fent a party to take and bring Hejer before him, but he, fearing what would happen, had called his friends about him and stood on his defence, and a smart skirmish ensued between them and Ziyad's soldiers; however they (who fought only with Ricks and stones) could not long hold out against wellarmed men; and several of the rebels having been put to the sword, the rest were intimidated, and Hejer with thirteen of his friends were taken, and being chained hands and feet, were sent to Moawiyah to be punished for having spoken reproachfully of the Caliph, affronted his Emir, (Ziyad) and affirmed that the government belonged of right to none but the family of Ali.

The Caliph called a council to deliberate Punishment on this affair, and opinions were divided of the rebels.



Hegyra 46. Ch. ær. 666.

Moawitch. All agreed that Hejer was guilty, but they differed as to the manner of punishing him. Some were for putting him to death; others were for banishing him and his adherents, and dispersing them through the several provinces of his extensive dominions. The former opinion prevailed, through the pressing instances of Ziyad, who in a letter he wrote to Moawiyah told him, that if he had any thoughts of preserving his authority in Irak, or of keeping that province, he must by no means think of using clemency on so important an occasion. He caused his letter to be backed by some of his friends at the Caliph's court, and the sentence of death was pronounced. The criminal's head was cut off *, and several of his adherents were executed at the same time: about six of them obtained their pardon on the sollicitation of some of the chief men of the court, whom the Caliph could not deny +.

It

* When Hejer came near the place of execution he begged time to wash himself, which he always punctually performed; after which he said two short prayers, and rising up, faid, had I been afraid of death, I could have made them longer; but when he saw his grave ready digged, his winding sheet spread out, and the executioner's sword drawn, he was observed to tremble. And being asked, if he had not faid that he was not afraid, he answered, how is it possole to be unmoved at such a prospect? The executioner bid him stretch out his neck strait; he answered, he would not be affistant to his own death. Then his head was immediately struck off, his body was washed, and he was buried in his chains, according to his own directions.

Ockley, vol. II. fol. 126, 127. † Aïesha sent a messenger to intercede for Hejer and the other criminals, but he arrived too late. When Moawiyah afterwards

It seems according to arabian authors, that Moanitah. nothing passed in the 46th and 47th years of Ch. ar. 666. the Hegyra more remarkable than the punishment of Hejer, and the poisoning the fon of Khaled; for during all that time, and even for great part of the year 48, they re-Hegyra 48. late nothing worthy observation, either in Ch. ar. 668. respect to the general history of the Arabians, or to the Caliph in particular.

They had however furely ample materials The Musfulto have worked upon, in giving an account of men besiege the preparations which Moawiyah made for ple in vain. the siege of Constantinople, to which city he sent a numerous fleet towards the end of the year 48. One would think that an armament of fuch a kind would have been much more worthy the attention and inquiries of historians, than a number of infignificant things with which they have filled

their works.

We therefore only know in general, that Moawivah, who had formed a design of raising a fleet even whilst he was only governor of Syria, had vigoroufly endeavoured to earry that defign into execution, so soon as he attained the Caliphate. When he thought himself in a condition of keeping the sea, he equipped a fleet, which he sent

afterwards visited Aïesha at Medina, she said to him from behind the curtain, what was become of your compassion when you killed Hejer and his companions? I lose that, mother, said he, when I am absent from such persons as you.

Moawivan. to Constantinople under the command of his

Hegyra 48. fon Yezid. Ch. ær. 668.

Death of Abu Jiub.

They laid siege to the city, which was of long duration, and unsuccessful; and these are the only important particulars that authors have thought fit to relate of it. Instead of giving us a circumstantial account of so important an enterprize, and which was so long carried on as to have produced many great and important actions and events, they have been very particular in informing us, that three of the companions of Mahomet, notwithstanding their great age, went on that hazardous expedition; that the army suffered extreme hardships in their march, but were encouraged by a tradition, no less than a plenary indulgence; Mahomet having said, "The fins of the first army that takes the city of Cæsar * are forgiven." That a famous mussulman captain (one of the companions and who was prefent with Mahomet at the battles of Bedre and Ohod) named Abu Jiub, was killed during the siege, and buried near the walls of the place -.

Hegyra 49.
Ch. ar. 669.
Itantial account of the attempt upon ConExpedition of stantinople, relates, that Yezid at the head
Yezid.
of a strong army in a very short time took

* Jerusalem was then called the city of Cæsar.

[†] A mosque has been since raised over his tomb, which is held in such veneration by the turks, that to this very day the emperors of the Ottoman family go thither with great ceremony to have their swords girt on upon their accession to the throne.

III

away from the grecian emperor, Armenia Moawitah. and Natolia. He then passed the Hellespont, Hegyra 49. and laid siege to Constantinople, and that the Greeks took no care to prevent his approaches. That they contented themselves with appearing in a posture of defence upon the ramparts, and quietly suffered the Arabians to post and cover themselves in the neighbourhood of the city, the circumference and extent of which was so immense, that the muffulman troops could not compleatly invest it. That notwithstanding this disadvantage, the Grecians in no wise disturbed their tranquillity; and that the Saracens plowed and sowed the fields adjacent to the town and suburbs, and gathered in the harvest with the same facility they could have done in their own country. And that after having thus passed two years, they formed several attacks, in which they lost a great number of men, and finally raised the siege.

During the time of that enterprize, great Inconstancy disturbances arose in Africa, the inhabitants of the Afriwhereof seemed inclined to throw off the cans. mussulman yoke. They had submitted only through fear, and so soon as they found themselves at liberty, they returned to their old religion; but on the appearance of the faracen troops they again professed Musful--manism.

Moawiyah appointed a man'named Okbad, Okbad conwho was a person of great capacity, to be firms them in governor of the province of Africa, who at Mahometism.

last,



Hegyra 49. Ch. ær. 669.

Moawiyan last, but not without trouble, fixed the inconstant genius of that people. After having fruitlesly used all the methods mercy and moderation could suggest, he resolved to make use of severity, and thereby gained his point. He caused a register to be kept of the names of all those who were the chief promoters of the changes in religion which so frequently happened in that province, and gave orders that they should be all put to the edge of the sword: and he at the same time issued a proclamation, importing, that for the future he would act with the same vigour against all such as should dare to abandon the religion of the prophet.

Hegyra 50. * Ch. ær. 670. He builds the city of Kairwan.

The fears of death made a strong impression on the inhabitants of that country, but the better to prevent the ill effects of their inconstancy, and keep them in awe, he caused the city of Kairwan + to be built, which city afterwards became the capital of the province of Africa (properly so called.) For

+ It was distanced from Carthage towards the north east thirty-three leagues, and twelve from the fea.

this

^{*} In the 50th year of the Hegyra died Mogeirah-ebn Saïd governor of Cufah. The plague had raged there, on which he retired, and the pestilence ceasing, he returned and died of it .-He was an active man, and of good parts. He lost an eye at the battle of Yermouk, or, as some say, by looking at an eclipse. He was accounted to be of the wrong party, and a chief of They reckon five elders on Ali's fide; Mahomet, Ali, Fatima, Hassan, Hossein. Their opposites are, Abubecre, Omar, Moawiyah, Amru, and Mogeirah. This year also died Rahya, one of the earliest professors of Mahometism. Mahomet said, that of all men he ever saw, Rahya did most resemble the angel Gabriel.



this purpose he chose a country very woody, Morwitah and full of serpents and wild beasts, which Her yra 5 Chr. r 670. had often done great mischief: besides, the woods had served as an asylum to the rebels during the time of their revolt; and the governor had been greatly retarded and perplexed in his march, when he pursued them. He therefore caused all the trees in the neighbourhood to be felled, and they proved of fingular use to him in building the new city. There he fixed his residence, and it became the center of his jurisdiction, and it was foon confiderable on account of its comnterce, the number of its inhabitants, and the reputation it gained when the sciences flourished there.

The Saracens also made use of it as a place of arms; there they deposited their riches, and also the booty they took from their enemies. And as it was remote from the sea, and bordering upon the desert, they were secure from the invasions of the grecian or roman navies; and indeed the governor had taken such precaution in fortifying both the coast and the avenues to the city, that no defcent could have been made there with any prospect of success.

Whilst Okbad was establishing the govern- Ziyad asks for ment of Moawiyah in Africa, the famous the govern-Ziyad was employed in subduing the Alians bia. in the leveral places committed to his charge. After having forced the Irakians to return to their duty and submit to the Caliph, he Vol. II. wrote

MOAWIYAH. Hegyra 5 Chr. ær. 670.

wrote a letter to him, to ask for the government of Arabia. The manner in which he expressed himself in his letter, plainly shews, that Irak was so well secured that there was no reason to fear any future disturbances, and that he could with the same facility secure the peace and tranquillity of the rest of Arabia. "My left hand, said he to the Caliph, is here employed in governing the people of Irak: in the mean time my right hand remains idle. Give it Arabia to govern, and it will give you a good account of it."

Moawiyah, who was sensible of how much

He dies in possession of it.

going to take importance it was to him, to employ a man so capable of doing him service, immediately granted his request. The news of it being foon spread abroad, was not very pleasing to all that heard it. Amongst others, this nomination greatly alarmed the inhabitants of Medina, who were afraid of his rough and violent temper. One of them, named Abdollah-ebn-Zobeir, alluding to the expressions made use of by Ziyad in his letter to the Caliph, publickly uttered this prayer: "O God! latisfy this right hand which is Chr. ær. 672. idle and superfluous to Ziyad*." It is said that foon after this prayer Ziyad was seized with a pestilential ulcer in one of the fingers of his right hand, and that he died of it, as he

Hegyra 53.

^{*} There is in these words an elgant allusion to the name cf Ziyad, which signifies in Arabic, abundant and superfluous.

was on the road going to to take possession Moawiyan. of his government. Authors fix his death Hegyra 53. in the 53d year of the Hegyra, and the 672d of the Christian æra.

The same year died the famous Gia-Death of Gia-balah-ebn-Aihan, the last king of the tribe of Gassan, who were arabian christians. He embraced Mussulmanism in the Caliphate of Omar; but quitted it on account of some differences he had with that Caliph, and remained amongst the Christians till his death.

Moawiyah was sensibly touched at the loss Hegyra 54. of Ziyad: He was indebted to him for the Chr. er. 673. establishment of his authority in all the provinces of the musfulman empire; and if any malcontents still remained, they dared not shew their heads.

The Caliph finding himself in peaceable He fixes the possession of his dignity, fixed his residence feat of his empire at Damasat Damascus. He thought this city was cus. worthy of being chosen as the capital, as it had gained the admiration of all mankind, on account of its pleasant situation, its extent, the magnificence of its buildings, and the mildness and goodness of its climate.

In order to render the city venerable to He proposes the Mussulmen in particular, he resolved to bring thithat the very pulpit from which Mahomet met's purpit. had propagated Islamism, should be brought thither. He hoped that by erecting so precious a relick of Mahometism in the mosque of Damascus, and ascending it himself, to perform the public service, the people, struck

Moatilial at the fight of it, would have a stronger at hegyr \$1 Car. ær. 073. ta hment to his person, and pay a greater

re and to his dignity.

He therefore sent to Medina, and comnanded that the pulpit of the prophet should be forthwith sent to him. The Medinians, alarmed at the Caliph's design, entreated that they would not deprive them of a treafure which was the only thing they had to comfort them, fince it was determined their city should be no longer honoured with the presence of their sovereign, as it had been ever fince the days of the apostle of God.

The Medini- But their remonstrances were ineffectual, and ans oppose it. the order imported that the pulpit should be brought away even by force, if need required. They therefore prepared to execute the Caliphs commands notwithstanding the opposition of the Medinians, when there immediately happened an eclipse of the sun, which they all looked on as a prodigy, and as a manifest indication of the divine displeasure, for their presuming to lay hands on the apostle's pulpit: and the messengers of Moawiyah, terrified at an event, which they superstitiously concluded to be a miracle, desisted from their enterprize. They therefore informed the Caliph of what had happened, and received orders to leave the relick in the place where the prophet himself had set it.

In this year Moawiyah deprived Saëd of Mo wiyah e ives the go of the government of Medina, and restored it vernment to Merwan-ebn-Hakem, the former possessor. Medina to

Merwan. But

But authors do not say what was the cause of Moawiyan. this change. The Caliph also commanded Hegyra 54. Merwan to demolish Saëd's house, and seize

all his effects in Hejaz. The new governor acquainted Saëd with the purport of his orders, and told him he could by no means avoid putting them in execution: He even remonstrated to Saed, that if he had been in his (Merwan's) place, he would have done the like, a governor being obliged to obey

the commands of his sovereign.

He was much surprized when Saëd informed him that he had received orders from the Caliph at the time he himself was governor, to treat Merwan in like manner, but in regard to the friendship that had so long subsisted between them, he had ventured to disobey. In a word, he produced the Caliph's letter, and told Merwan he had rather chosen to risque the Caliph's displeasure, than feel the pain he must have suffered in ruining his friend. Merwan readily acknowledged Saëd's superior generosity, imitated him in his conduct, and gave over all thoughts of executing the Caliph's order. They both easily perceived that this was an artful contrivance of Moawiyah to set them at variance, lest their union should prove prejudicial to his authority: Merwan wrote to Moawiyah on this account, and he being not a little ashamed at his own ungenerous dealing, revoked the unjust command, approved of their

Moawivan their conduct, and affured them they might

Hegyra 54. Chr. ær. 673. depend on his friendship.

Obeidollah fan.

The time year the Caliph gave the governmade gover-ment of the province of Chorasan to Obeinor of Chora-dollah, the son of Ziyad, who was then but 20 * years old. This extraordinary favour was bestowed on him for his behaviour when upon the death of his father he came to pay his duty to Moawiyah, and to give an account of what had passed in the several provinces of which Ziyad had lately been governor. That young Mussulman spoke with so much good sense and judgment, and gave so satisfactory an account of the dispositions, character, zeal and conduct of his father's deputies, that the Caliph, amazed to find so much merit in so young a man, readily placed his whole confidence in him, and set him over a confiderable province.

He defeats the Turks.

Moawiyah had not the least cause to repent the choice he had made. Obeidollah soon gained the affections of the people committed to his charge; and they boldly marched under his command, when he had formed a design of attacking the enemies of the state. He passed the river Gihon, otherwise called

* Ockley fays, 25 years.

[†] This year Moawiyah deposed Samrah, who was Ziyad's deputy over Basorah. When Samrah heard the news, he said, "God curse Moawiyah: If I had served God so well as I have served him, he would never have damned me to all eternity." This much resembles the speech made by Cardinal Wolfey when he was feized by order of Henry the Eighth. Perhaps the Cardinal was indebted to this Arabian for the though.

the Oxus, and advanced as far as the mouti-Moawiyan. tains of Bochàra. There he encountered the Hegyra 544 tains of Bochàra. There he encountered the Chir. ær. 673. Turks, and giving them battle, he heat them, and put their forces so totally to the rout, that their queen, who was in the action, lost one of her buskins in the flight, which made the fortune of him that found it; for it was so richly ornamented, that it was valued at two thousand pieces of gold.

Obeidallah was preparing to push his con-Hegyra 55. quests with the utmost vigour, when he Chr. ær. 674. was recalled by the Caliph, who had taken Obeidollah is a resolution of sending him to Basorah to recalled from replace Abdallah the son of Amru, whom ment, and the he was forced to deprive of that government, reason why. on account of a commotion which happened in that city. One day as Abdallah was preaching in the mosque, a leading man of one of the tribes of the Arabians threw dust at him. The governor, enraged at so gross an infult, caused the Mussulman who had offended to be forthwith seized, and following Ziyad's example on a like occasion, he ordered his hand to be cut off, which was executed on the spot.

Some of the leading men in Basorah, and in particular the chiefs of the tribes, who were the governor's enemies, went to Moawiyah, and loudly complained of Abdallah's cruelty, who had so basely treated one of the chief inhabitants of the city, without any proof of the infult he pretended to have received.



Moawiyah. ceived *. And they entreated the Caliph Hegyra 55. to execute the law of retaliation upon the governor.

The Caliph, amazed at the warmth and eagerness with which the Basorians prosecuted Abdallah, strove to appease them by promising to punish him; he gave them to understand they could have no retaliation against his deputy, but he would fine him. It soon appeared that this judgment was given only to please the Basorians; for Moawiyah privately gave order that Abdallah should pay no part of the fine, and it was actually issued from the public treasury.

The heat with which this affair was carried on, plainly convinced Moawiyah to how great a degree the Basorians were disgusted with their governor. He foresaw it would be impossible to continue him in his post, without exposing him to fresh insults. He resolved therefore to recall him, and substituted in his room Obeidollah, the son of Ziyad, who lest Chorasan to the care of one Aslam, a worthless man, and very unsit for an employment of so much importance. He was soon dismissed, and Moawiyah appointed Saëd, the Caliph Othman's grandson, lieue

Upon being applied to by the chief of the tribe, they told him Moawiyah would deal oy him and his, as he had dealt with Hejer and his companions; wherefore, added they, give it under your hand that you did the action indiferently, which he foolishly complied with, in hopes of pacifying them; and the messengers produced it to Moawiyah in support of their charge against him.

tenant in his stead. In this place he gained Moawiyan. as great a reputation as Obeidollah had already Hegyra 55. acquired there, by adding new provinces to those of which the Mussulmen were already in possession *.

Hitherto the government had been electrive, but the great fuccess which had attended Chr. ær. 675. Moawiyah in all his undertakings, from the procures his time of his elevation to the Caliphate, had fon to be achieved him with a design of rendering that his successor, dignity hereditary in his family. He had been long ruminating on this project, and at last resolved to put it in execution, and to oblige the people to declare his son Yezid his heir and successor. For this purpose he wrote circular letters to all the provinces; the Syrians and Irakians came in to the Caliph's design, and Yezid was proclaimed by them without the least opposition.

But it was not so at Medina. Malek, who was then governor of that city, having attempted to cause Yezid to be proclaimed there, as presumptive heir to the Caliphate, was strongly opposed by the major part of the inhabitants, who were headed by Hossein the son of Ali, Abdallah-ebn-Amer, Abdarrahman, the son of Abubecre, and brother of Aïesha, and Abdallah the son of Zobeir; who unanimously declared they would

Saëd passed the river Gihon, sormerly Oxus, went to Samarcand (afterwards the capital of the great Tamerlane) and Sogd. Having there routed the idolaters, he went to Tarmud, which surrendered to him.

Moawiyah. never suffer a dignity to be rendered heredia tary, which had been always elective amongst Hegyra 56. Chr. ær. 675. the Mus almen. They represented to him that the cro n ought to be given by the votes of the people alone; and that it ought always to be conferred on the most worthy, agreeable to the intention of the prophet and his suc-

> cessors, who had never appointed, or so much as named a person to reign after them.

> The Caliph having been foon informed of what passed at Medina, in hopes of encouraging the matter by his presence, went thither in person, attended by a thousand horse, and had a long conference with Aïesha on that subject. We are not told the particulars of what passed there; but the result was, that the inhabitants of Hejaz publickly acknowledged Yezid as heir to the

Caliphate.

Moawiyah having thus succeeded in drawing off the people from their chiefs of the opposite faction, attempted to bring over the heads themselves. He ascended the pulpit in the mosque, and having read the prayers, he made a very pathetic speech, to convince them how necessary it was, for the sake of the public tranquillity, that such as had opposed Yezid's election, should comply with the opinion of those who had submitted to it. He employed his utmost efforts to make them unanimous, but all in vain; for, spight of all his remonstrances and threats, the adherents stood their ground,

into

the ARABIANS.

and shewed by their resolute answers that Moawiyan. they despised his menaces.

Chr. 77. 646

Though Moawiyah was vehem ntly en-Chr. ær. 676. raged, and had a force at hand, ne dared not offer any violence to the opponents; they were very confiderable amongst the people, and even amongst those of a contrary opinion; so that the Caliph did not think it prudent to make use of compulsion.

After this, Moawiyah gave his advice to Moawiyah in-Yezid touching his conduct when he should of the characbe placed on the throne, and told him what ters of the he had to fear from the chiefs of the oppo-chief of the site faction. "Hossein, said he, has a strong party, confisting of his own family, and many amongst the Irakians; they will continually urge him to make war against you, and perhaps he will comply; but it will be rather from notions of honour, than through ambition: Therefore if by the fortune of war he comes under your power, remember he is your relation; consider he is a person of singular merit, and set him at liberty without the least hesitation. As to Abdallah, the son of Amer, I think you have little to fear from him; he is too much given up to devotion to think of engaging in plots and conspiracies. With regard to Abdarråhman, I think, (but for a contrary reason) he will not prove a more formidable enemy: He is so guided by the opinion of others, and so totally addicted to women and play, that it is very improbable he should enter

Hegyra 5 Chr. ær 676.

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Moanigan into any cabal. But Abdallah ebn-Zobeir is the man you ought most to fear; he is of an enter rizing genius, and capable of any undertaking; he will attack you with the strength of the lion, and the subtilty of the fox: death alone can free you from fuch an enemy: therefore if ever he falls into your

hands, cut him in pieces."

Moawiyah was highly pleased that he had carried his grand point, and that an innovation of so great importance as the appointing a successor to the crown in his life-time, had caused no greater disturbances than those already mentioned. He thought his son was fit to reign, but the opinion he entertained of his merit was without foundation. Viewing him with a father's eye, he spyed in him a thousand perfections; but paternal love made him blind to all his faults.

What retarded Moawiyah's

Yezid was a profligate young man, wholly Moawiyah's given up to sporting, gaming and drinking. design of caust The samous Ziyad knew him well; and be acknow- having been confulted by Moawiyah at the ledged his suc time that Caliph was revolving in his mind the design of transmitting the crown to his fon, he did all in his power to divert his sovereign from executing the project. Ziyad only objected how dangerous it would be to alter the fundamental constitution of the state. As to Yezid's fitness and merit, he was cautious of being too explicit to a father; however it appeared from what he said, that he did not think Yezid would answer the Caliph's

liph's expectations, or that the choice would MOAWIYAH, do honour either to the throne or the nation. Hegyra 57.

Moawiyah was staggered by thes remonstrances, and for some years laid h s project aside: but upon Ziyad's death, who was the only man that had taken the liberty of speaking to him touching his son's disposition and qualifications, he resumed the design; however two years passed after his return to Damascus, before he suffered him to perform the sunctions of the Caliphate.

In this interval historians make little men-Hegyra 58. tion of the Arabian empire; they only re-Death of Ailate the death of the famous Aïesha, who esta and Abended her days at Medina, and who during darrahman. her life time had been treated with the utmost

respect by the Musiumen *. The same year also died her brother Abdarrahman, who was one of the four that opposed Yezid's in-

auguration.

The next year died Abu-Hureirah, who Death of Abuhad been one of Mahomet's chief confidants. Hureirah. The true name or pedigree of that Mussul-Fiegyra 59. man is not known, that which is above men-Chr. ær. 678. tioned being a nick-name, fignifying father of the cat, which was given him by Mahomet, n account of his fondness for one of those animals, which he always carried about with

him.

^{*} We must except the time when she exposed herself in the expedition against Ali, as before related. At other times she was called prophetess; and when any person spoke to her, it was generally by the title of Mother of the Faithful.

MOAWIYAH. Hegyra 60. Chr. ær. 679. the inauguzid.

The 60th year of the Hegyra was remarkable for the inauguration of Yezid. He was pullicly acknowledged as his father's Ceremony of colleague, and took his feat as presumptive ration of Ye-heir to the Caliphate. The ceremony was performed with great pomp and solemnity, and the young prince received the compliments and allegiance of all the provinces of the empire from their respective ambassadors.

of Moawiyah for Yezid.

Blind fondness Amongst the rest came Al-Ahnaph, a venerable old man, Yezid's uncle. He abode some time at the Caliph's court, and the fond father being desirous that all the world should join with him in entertaining a good opinion of his son's capacity, desired Al-Ahnaph to discourse him; and to give him a fair opportunity of trying his parts, he left them some time alone, with an injunction to tell him fincerely what he thought of Yezid.

This was a very troublesome task to Al-Ahnaph; he was not at all pleased with his nephew's capacity and character, and was confequently very unwilling plainly to speak his fentiments to his brother. He avoided it as long as he could, but when he was on the point of leaving Damascus, Moawiyah reminded him of the injunction. The old man gravely and honestly answered: "If we lye, we are afraid of God; and if we speak truth, we are afraid of you: you know best both his night and his day; his inside and his outside, his coming in and his going out: it is our busi-

ness to hear and obey: yours to give Iscneuo Moawiyah. to the people".

Chr. ær. 679.

This was enough to have opened the Caliph's eyes, as to the supposed merit of his son; but that able clear-sighted man, so famous among his countrymen for his great difcernment, blinded by paternal fondness, entertained too favourable an opinion of him, which could by no means be eradicated. Though otherwise a prudent man, he could not help frequently commending his son for his majestic look, and expressing in conversation the great opinion he had of his abilities for governing a potent empire. But unhappily for him, as well as for the nation, he was the only person of that opinion.

It is related that in one of his harangues to the people (after the public prayers) he thus addressed himself to the Deity: "O God! If thou knowest that I have settled the government upon my son, because according to the best of my judgment I think him qualified for it, confirm it to him. But if I have done it out of affection, confirm it not. "

Moawiyah began at that time insensibly to decline; he was advanced in years, and the fatigues of war, and those he had otherwise sustained in order to g atify his ambition, had greatly weakened his constitution. The last speech he made in public, was to this effect: "I am like the corn that is to be reaped. I have governed you a long time,

Hegyra 60. Ch. ær. 679.

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Moawiyah time, till we are weary of each other; both willing to part. I am superior to all those that shill come after me, as my predecesfors were superior to me. Whosoever loves to meet God, God loves to meet him. O God! I love to meet thee, do thou love to meet me!"

Moawiyah's Yezid.

Shortly after this he was seized with a last advice to fainting sit, and was sensible his end was approaching. His son being then absent, he called to him the captain of his guards, and another of his chief officers, and said to them: Remember me to Yezid, and tell him this from me: "Look upon the Arabians as your stock and foundation, and when they fend any ambassadors to you, treat them with courtefy and respect. Take care of the Syrians, they are firmly in your interest, to them you are indebted for the inheritance I leave you, and you may depend upon them whenever you are attacked by your enemies: but if you have occasion to employ them out of their own country, send them home again so soon as they have done their business, for they become worse by staying long abroad. Should the Irakians demand a new governor every day, oblige them, for you had better in such case part with your dearest friend, than have an hundred thousand swords drawn against you. If Abdallah the son of Zobeir attacks you, oppose him; if he offers you peace, accept it, and

and be as sparing as possible of the blood of MANIYAH.

Hegyra 60.

Ch. æt. 670.

Moawiyah died in the twentieth year of Death of his reign, and about the seventy fifth year of Moawiyah. his age. When he was dead, Dehac the son of Kais assembled the people in the mosque; and mounting the pulpit with Moawiyah's winding sheet, he shewed it to the people to satisfy them of his death: he then made an encomium upon him, and said the burial prayer over him.

Such was the end of Moawiyah, a prince His character.

in great repute amongst the Mussulmen, on account of the many eminent posts he possessed. Having been secretary to Mahomet, he was appointed governor of Syria, which he held sour years under the Caliph Omar, and in which he was continued by Othman during the whole course of his reign, which was about twelve years; and sour years more he kept Syria in his own hands by force, during his dispute with Ali. So that the time of his government, and of his reign, was about forty years.

He was of a merciful disposition, and courageous: he was easy of access, and all such as had any affairs to transact with him, could not help commending his polite and affable behaviour. He was of a quick capacity, thoroughly skilled in the administration of government, and master of admirable sagacity in discerning the characters and merit of men. In respect to his son indeed, he Vol. II.



Mogra va de either did not, or would not know his true Hegyra 60. cha acter. Ch. ar. 679.

Authors speak highly in praise of the noble generosity of this Caliph. They tell us that when he received visits from persons of high rank and quality, he usually invited them to take any thing of value, or curious, belonging to him, that they had a mind to *.

The strict Musselmen were not a little offended at the richness of his dress; for till his time the Caliphs had worn only woollen garments. But so soon as he became governor of Syria, he began to make use of silk, and ever afterwards was cloathed in rich and costly array. He also lived in a very splendid manner, and made no scruple of constantly drinking wine, contrary to the usage of his predecessors, who had always looked upon that liquor to be absolutely prohibited.

This great prince set himself above all the laws in order to attain the sovereign dignity; he gained it without being indebted to an election, or the sufrages of the nation; by the help of Amru he took such prudent measures that he assumed the title of Caliph by the sole assistance and countenance of the votes of the Syrians, spight of the nomina-

^{*} He made a present to Aïesha of a bracelet worth 100,000 pieces of gold. He presented Hassan with 300,000 pieces. To Abdallah the son of Zobeir he gave 100,000. To Hossein 100,000. The like to Abdollah-ben-Jaasar. To Merwan the son of Hakem, afterwards Caliph, 100,000. At another time he presented Hassan with sour millions.

tion of Hassan, whom the Arabians had MOAWIYAH. raised to the throne. And he so managed his Fegyra 60. ch. ar. 679. His policy, being happily seconded by for-

tune, raised him to that amazing heighth, in which he fixed and maintained himself, by

the help of great skill and talents.

He may have been reproached, as an usurper; but it must at the same time be confessed, that he was a great monarch, and at least as worthy the empire as any of those who possessed it before him. He was so fortunate as to extend the limits of his dominions, and was the first who transmitted the crown to his posterity. To him also the Saracens owed the establishment of the posts, and the raising a fleet, useful and noble improvements, which shewed the greatness of his capacity, and the extent of his genius.

This Caliph was not learned, but he had Inclination of a natural taste, which supplied his want of Moawiyah to skill and knowledge in the arts and sciences; and that taste induced him to esteem and favour such as excelled therein. He had above all a singular affection for poets, and gave them proofs of it upon every occasion that offered. Arabian authors relate (amongst others) two passages, which it may not be

improper to mention.

An arabian robber being once condemned to have his hand cut off, was brought before Moawiyah, in order that the sentence might be confirmed. The criminal being in the K 2 Caliph's



Hegyra 60. Ch. ær. 679.

Moan iran. Calibh's presence, and reflecting on his great love for poetry, made and repeated four verses on the spot, which were very ingenious and beautiful; and Moawiyah was so highly pleased with them, that he forthwith pardoned the Arabian, and caused him to be set at liberty.

> This pardon raised the greater admiration, as it was the first sentence pronounced by a magistrate amongst the Muslulmen, that had not been put in execution: for till the time of Moawiyah, the Caliphs had not presumed to shew favour to those whom the ordinary

judges had condemned.

The great fondness which Moawiyah had for poetry, was also of great use to a young Arabian in obtaining speedy redress for a crying injury done him by the governor of Cufah, in forcibly taking from him his beauteous and beloved wife. The wretched husband came to make his complaint to the Caliph, and expressed his present condition in so moving an elegy, that Moawiyah both moved and delighted with the bold and pathetic expressions, and lively fancy of the young poet, put off the determination of all other business, in order to do him speedy justice. He sent an express to the governor, and commanded him to resign the woman without delay: and in the mean time he kept the husband at court, and treated him with great marks of respect.

The governor returned a very extraordinary forwiven, answer, which shewed the excess of his pate H gyra bo. since the informed the messenger that if the Caliph would permit him to retain her only twelve months, he would consent to have his head cut off at the end of that time: but the Caliph rigidly insisted on her being given up, and she was brought before him.

So extraordinary an event excited the Caliph's curiofity. He was defirous of feeing a woman whose beauty was so much talked of: on the fight of her he found that same had been far from over-rating her perfections, and that her charms were capable of inspiring each beholder with love. But when she spoke, with her usual politeness and elegance of expression, he declared that he who had received so many embassies, and conversed with the greatest men of his country, never before heard such a torrent of eloquence as slowed from the lips of that charming Arabian.

Moawiyah, in a transport of admiration, imagined he saw one of those divine women whom Mahomet has placed in his paradise, to administer to the pleasures of the blessed. He was never tired of listening to her, and continually asked her new questions, that he might give her an opportunity of speaking. After a pretty long conversation, the Caliph asked her, (having purposely assumed a serious air) for which she had the greatest affection, the governor or her husband? the fair K 3 arabian



Moawira ara ian remaining some time silent, Moa-Hegyra 60. wiyah thought he had put her to a stand, and Ch. ær. 679. was beginning to grow angry, when she, with a modesty becoming her sex, answered him in verse, full of fire and spirit, in which the shewed her great love and attachment to her husband, and begged she might be restored to him. "What a prodigy of wit and beauty you are! cried the Caliph in amaze; how highly would my kingdom be honoured, if you would be pleased to share my throne! but fince you are resolved to return to your own country, I will not prevent you: go then, and if you would enjoy your happy husband without fear of some fresh misfortune, keep close to your house: and if you must go out, let a thick veil cover your matchless charms from the eyes of men."

The Caliph dismissed the happy pair, to each of whom he gave the strongest proof of his esteem and regard. He made them very rich presents; and as the young Arabian had informed Moawiyah, that in endeavouring to recover his wife, he had shattered his fortune, the Caliph made it up to him by bestowing on him double the sum he had expended for that purpose. The young poet and his fair wife returned to Arabia, where they shewed their gratitude to Moawiyah, in publickly acknowledging the goodness and generofity of that Caliph, who had bestowed on them so many favours.

Shortly

Shortly after this event Moawiyah died. Moawiyah. The city of Damascus, which had been the Hegyra 60. place of his residence, was the place of his sepulchre, and there also were buried all the Caliphs of the dynasty of the Ommiyans.

Y E Z- I D.

The SEVENTH CALIPH.

in the thirtieth year of his age when he Hegyra 60. Ch. ær. 679. knowledged lawful Caliph in all the Maho-Mecca and Medina, the inhabitants whereof being fuse to accent at the slight Moawiyah shewed them, by disregarding their right to votes in the nomination of a sovereign, they resolved to revenge the contempt of the father on the son, and to use their utmost efforts to recover their liberties and priviledges.

They might possibly have succeeded in Hossein and their attempts, had it not been for the factions Abdallah form pretenthat divided them as to the Caliphate. Hosseins to the sein the son of Ali, laid claim to it as his Caliphate. birth-right. And Abdallah the son of Zobeir had also his views and pretensions; and they were each of them supported by a strong party, which kept up their hopes. The least disturbance would have given them an opportunity of breaking out into an open K 4 revolt;

YEZID., revolt; but though Yezid was very indif-Hegyra 60. fer ently provided with those talents which are Ch. ær. 679. necessary for the ruling a kingdom, he behaved so prudently as to maintain the quiet of the state.

> The new Caliph did not remove one of the lieutenants and officers, which his father had set over the provinces. On the contrary he wrote to them, and confirmed them in their posts, informing them at the same time of the right he had to the sovereign dignity, as being then solely possessed of it by the death of Moawiyah.

> Yezid having been informed, that he had no reason to fear any opposition, save only from Hossein the son of Ali, and Abdallah the son of Zobeir, he particularly mentioned those two Mussulmen in a letter he wrote to Waled the son of Otbah, then governor of Medina; and he commanded him to use his utmost endeavour to make them pay their

homage without delay.

As there appeared no small danger in executing such a commission relating to persons of so considerable credit and power, Waled went to Merwan-ebn-Hakem and consulted him concerning the contents of it. Merwan was a person of note, whom Moawiyah had made use of on several occasions. We are not told why the Caliph shewed so little gratitude to him; but after he was appointed governor of Medina, he was dismissed, as we have already observed, and Saëd put in

his place; Moawiyah afterwards restored that government to him, and again deprived him Hegyra 60. of it in favour of Waled.

YEZID.

This new governor therefore went to confult Merwan, who was of opinion that they should send for Hossein and Abdallah, and that they should not mention Moawiyah's death, till they had inquired and discovered their fentiments touching Yezid's right to the Caliphate, a dignity in which he had been installed by his father, with the consent of the major part of the Mussulmen. He added, that the oath of allegiance should be then forthwith tendered to them, and if they refused to take it, their heads should be struck off.

In conformity to this advice, Waled sent a message to Hossein and Abdallah, desiring them to attend him. They answered the messenger that they would come. But as they probably had some suspicion of Moawiyah's death, they suspected what would be required of them, and took their measures

accordingly.

Hossein appeared the first at the governor's They refuse house He had taken the precaution to be to take the oath to Yezid. attended with a large body of his friends, whom he placed about the door, with orders to come in if they should hear any disturbance. But this precaution became unnecesfary by the manner in which he answered what Waled required of him. The governor having acquainted him with Moawiyah's death, invited him to own his allegi-

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YEZID. Hegyra 60. Ch. ær. 679. ance to Yezid. Hossein did not absolutely refuse so to do, but answered, that it was not suitable to the dignity of Yezid that the homage due to him, particularly from a man of his distinction, should be paid in private; for considering the present situation of mens minds, such homage might be one day disputed: that therefore he considered it as an act of great importance, which ought to be performed in a solemn assembly of the people, which would render it more authentic.

Waled, imagining that Hossein spoke his real sentiments, declared himself to be of the same opinion, and firmly believing he meant to take the oath in a public affembly, he pressed him no further. Hossein took his leave of the governor in order to depart. But Merwan, who readily saw through this pretence*, said to Waled, "If Hossein does not pay his alleigance before he goes away, I foresee there will be a great deal of blood shed between you and him; let him therefore take the oath forthwith, otherwise strike off his head." Hossein having heard what Merwan said, reproached him for his sanguinary council, and leaping suddenly out of the room, went to his own house. Merwan, finding he was gone, told Waled he was in the wrong to miss fo fair an opportunity, and

affured

^{*} It is related that Waled saw through the excuse also, but that he declined putting Hosein to death, either from principles of religion, or love to the family of Ali. Ockley, vol. II. sol. 166.

affured him that he would never see Hossein Yezro. any more; and indeed he soon resolved to Hegy a. 60. go to some place of safety.

Abdallah the son of Zobeir was then sent for: he delayed time, and amused the governor by doubtful answers; and having speedily formed a resolution, he departed from Medina with all his family, and most valuable effects.

He chose Mecca for the place of his They reture to asylum. Thither also Hossein went for re-Mecca. fuge, with all his family, except Mahomet Hanisiah, the son of Ali, who was consequently brother of Hossein, but not by the same mother.

Mahomet Hanisiah, who at parting expressed a most tender affection and concern for Hossein, advised him not to venture himself in any of the provinces, till his friends were gathered together in a considerable body, and then he might trust himself with them. And if he was resolved to go into any town he should prefer Mecca, whence he should immediately withdraw into the mountains, if he found the least appearance of any thing to disgust him.

One would think it might have been more advisable for them to retire together, than for the one to wander in the mountains, where he would have run the hazard of wanting necessaries, and being taken by his enemies; but arabian historians relate this fact, without making the least mention of



YEZID. Hegyra 60. Ch. ær. 679. the motives (as indeed they have done in many other instances) and therefore we must be satisfied with their relation.

Hossein, having agreed on proper measures with his brother, tenderly embraced him, and took the road to Mecca, where he arrived without the least accident. But Abdallah had not so quiet and uninterrupted a journey. Amrou the son of Saïd, who was then governor of Mecca, endeavoured to prevent him from entering the city, for which purpose he employed Amer the son of Zobeir, and brother to Abdallah, but at the same time his inveterate enemy, to march out with a detachment against his own brother. Amer readily accepted the command, and went to meet Abdollah. The latter boldly attacked Amer, beat his troops, took him prisoner, and entered triumphant into Mecca, spight of the attempts of the governor, who dared not to carry his resistance any further, on account of the particular regard and great veneration the Meccans shewed to that Musfulman, and which by the late event was confiderably augmented.

Though Abdallah seemed to have interest sufficient to carry his point, yet the presence of Hossein in Mecca eclipsed his glory: the former was loved and respected, but Hossein was possessed of personal good qualities, which gained him the general love and esteem of the people. Besides, as Fatima his mother was Mahomet's daughter, and consequently he

was the prophet's grandson, he was held in YEZID. the utmost reverence.

Hegyra 60. Ch. ær. 679.

The governor of Mecca, a very able and understanding man, was much embarassed by the presence of two such troublesome guests. But he was luckily soon extricated from the difficulty by an order he received

from the Caliph.

Yezid, having been informed of Waled's Amrou is remissness in respect of Hossein and Abdallah, made goremoved him from the government of Me-Medina. dina, and gave it to Amrou-ebn-Saïd, who was governor of Mecca. And Amrou accepted it with the greater pleasure, as it furnished him with a reason for departing from a city, where the authority he had gained, and the respect that had been paid him before the arrival of those two Mussulmen, was afterwards greatly diminished.

Now though Amrou was firmly in Yezid's interest, yet, he was persuaded that his absence could in no wise prejudice the Caliph's affairs, for as Hossein and Abdallah had severally a strong party, he was in hopes their competition would at most occasion only some little divisions amongst the inhabitants, that the difficulties of coming to a resolution would cause the principal matter to remain long undecided, and that the Caliph would have time to take proper measures for establishing his authority, at the peril of those who were plotting to wrest it from him.

YEZID. Hegyra 60. Ch. ær. 679. The Irakians offer the sein.

In the mean time the supposed equilibrium between the two parties proved a mere chimera. Hossein had in fact a great superiority, which was foon apparent from the crown to Hof- steps which the people of Irak took in his favour. Upon Hossein all the Irakians had founded their chief hopes, and had ever detested Moawiyah as a tyrant and usurper. So foon as they heard of his death, they made not the least doubt of succeeding in the defign they had formed of restoring the family of Ali to the throne.

The Cufians sent a deputation, consisting of the principal inhabitants, to Hossein to prevail on him to embark in their design. " My lord, said the deputies to him, we confider you as lawful heir to the Caliphate. Moawiyah, whom we detest, is dead; come therefore and resume a throne which is your just right, and which that tyrant forcibly deprived you of. We acknowledge you to be our sovereign; make the people of Irak happy by your presence; through our mouths they pay you homage; they intreat you not to abandon them and if you come amongst them, you will not only meet with a cordial reception, but find men determined to hazard their lives and fortunes in your cause."

Hossein was far from being displeased with this step, and expressed his thanks to the deputies; however he observed to them, that notwithstanding the great assurances they

gave him of succeeding in the enterprize, it YEZID. was the part of a prudent man to use due Higgia 60. caution and circumspection in an affair of so

great consequence, and attended with so much hazard. He promised them that he would duly weigh their proposal, and take proper measures with the utmost expedition; but he charged them to recommend it as his advice to the chief of those who had espoused his interest, to behave with great precaution, and to keep the matter a profound secret till it was ripe for execution.

Hossein having maturely considered this Hossein sends important and difficult enterprize, resolved to Muslim to send his cousin Muslim, a person he could rely positions of

on, into Irak; and he gave him the necessary the people. instructions to sound the inclinations of the people. "If you find them," faid he, " fo unanimous in my interest, as they have been represented, and if they are strong enough to make head against such as may appear to oppose them, you may, without further orders,

boldly lead them forth."

Muslim departed from Mecca, accompanied by two faithful Mahometans, who from their knowledge of the country were qualified to serve him as guides, and by the correspondence they kept up in those parts might be useful to him in the execution of his orders. But he had scarce reached the borders of Irak, when he had the misfortune to lose them both by maladies, which suddenly put an end to their lives.

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Yezib. Hegyra 60. Ch. ær. 679.

So unprosperous a beginning discouraged Muslim to such a degree, that he was on the point of giving over the undertaking. However at last he recovered his courage and came to Cusah, where he communicated his business privately only to such persons as he knew he could trust. And the matter was so closely and artfully conducted, that they reckoned themselves secure of eighteen thousand Irakians, who were ready to take up arms.

Noman's speech to the Cusians.

Though this secret was imparted to many persons, yet it was a long time before it was disclosed, so that Noman the son of Baschir, who was then governor of Cufah, had not the least information of it till the party was almost ready to take the field. The moment he was apprized of the design, he called an affembly of the people in the mosque; and ascending the pulpit sword in hand, harangued them to the effect following: "I find the spirit of division and disorder is again gone forth; and I am informed that the Irakians are about to take up arms in favour of the Alians. I would exhort you in particular to remain quiet spectators of the difference. By such a conduct you will secure your own happiness and mine. But if I find that any amongst you shall interfere, I swear by the living God, and by this sword which I now hold in my hand, I will never pardon them; and I will sooner lose my life, than be wanting in my duty to the Caliph Yezid."

This

This harangue, pronounced at a time YEZID. when action would have been much more Hegyra 60. suitable, did not make the desired impression on the hearers. One of the congregation convinced him of it, by telling him that this was a matter which required stirring, but he talked like one of the weak ones. He answered, "That he had rather be one of the weak ones in obedience to God, than one of the strong in rebelling against him;" and saying these words, he came down from the pulpit.

Some Cufians being discontented at the governor's conduct, immediately complained against him to Yezid. They informed the Caliph that the design formed by Hossein's party of making an infurrection had been long discovered, and they accused the governor of not taking proper measures on so

important an occasion.

The Caliph, who was highly displeased at Obeidollah the negligence and inattention of Noman, made go-forthwith dismissed him, and put in his place Cusah in the Obeidollah, son of the famous Ziyad. He place of Nowas already governor of Basorah; but they man. entertained so good an opinion of his abilities, that they thought him equal to the task of governing both the places.

And

Obeidollah went to Cufah so soon as he received the Caliph's orders. And as he had taken care to gain intelligence of what steps the Alians were preparing to take, he difcovered that Hossein intended soon to make his appearance in that city.

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YEZID. Hegyra 60. Ch. ar. 679.

And his intelligence proved true, for Muslim, being well pleafed with the fuccets of his negociation, wrote to Hossein to set out immediately, for that nothing now was wanting but his presence.

Conduct of Obeidollah for discoverparty.

Obeidollah, suspecting what would happen, was minded artfully to found the dispositions ing Hossein's of the Cusians in the present juncture. He kept his design profoundly secret till the moment he set out, and privately caused a report to be spread in Cufah, that Hossein would arrive there such a day. On the evening of that day he rode into the town, so disguised as to make them believe it was Hossein himself, for he wore a garment like his, and a black turban, such as the son of Ali used to wear. As he passed along he found a croud of inhabitants in the way, whom he faluted with great civility; in a word, he played his part so well, that he was taken for Hossein, and he thereby discovered that the Alians had a very confiderable party in the place. He received with great seeming cordiality greetings which were meant to Hossein, and many times heard himself saluted by the title of son of the apostle.

But the Cufians were foon undeceived. Obeidollah went to the castle, and shortly afterwards arrived one hundred horse whom he had chosen for his guard. He then discovered himself, and took measures to stifle the sedition in its birth. In order to do it effectually, and with as little noise as possible,

YEZID. Ch. er. 679.

he resolved to search to the bottom of the intrigue. For this purpose, having been Higgra 60. informed Muslim was the principal agent in the affair, he employed one of his officers to gain admittance into the house of that Mussulman, and to bribe some of his servants thereby to find out the secret.

The officer, who was well qualified for the unravelling an intrigue, prepared to put his master's orders in execution. He made an acquaintance with some of Muslim's family; and as he pretended to be a zealous friend to the Alians, they made no secret to him of what was transacting in favour of Hossein. He discovered that they used to meet in the night time to confult about that important affair; that they kept an exact register of all fuch as were of the party, and also of the troops and money they were able to raise and contribute. But in order to be the more exactly informed of the particulars, he procured himself to be introduced to Muslim and told him, that being a great friend to the cause in which he was then employed at Cufah, he was come to offer him a supply of three thousand pieces of gold. His name was forthwith inserted in the register, and he was inlisted among the number of Hossein's adherents. From that moment nothing was concealed from him, and he was foon in a condition of giving his master a true and exact account of the forces of the

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H 53.. €. Ch. ar. 679

YEZID: Alians, of their designs, and even of the very hour they had fixed for the carrying them into execution. When he had gained as much intelligence as was for his purpose, he sudsenly disappeared, and went no more to the house of Muslim.

> The unexpected absence of this man raised great suspicions in Niuslim, who being apprehensive that he should be seized in his own house, left it, and went for shelter to the house of one of the Emirs of Cuf: h, named Shaik, who was a fincere friend to the Alians. Thither came the chief confidents of Muslim to confer on their design: but as the governor's vigilance and activity proved a great obstacle to the fuccess of it, they resolved to affassinate him, the first time they should meet him without his attendants.

A project is Obcidollah.

An opportunity soon offered itself; Obeiformed to kill dollah proposed to pay a visit to Sharik, who was then dangerously ill: though his sickness did not prevent him from doing all in his power to advance the interest of Hossein: Sharik having been informed of the hour the governor would come to make the visit, it was settled that they should not miss so fair an opportunity of striking the intended blow. Muslim undertook to perform it, and it was contrived that he should be placed in a corner of the room, and that he should fall on the governor when the fick man called

called for water, which was the fignal ap-

pointed for that purpose.

Obeidollah came to the house of Sharik at the hour he had fixed, and so soon as his arrival was made known, Muslim went to his post, and so effectually concealed himself that he could not be seen. The governor, who did not entertain the least suspicion, entered the apartment with a Muslulman named Hani, who was secretly attached to Hossein, and who was concerned in the design against Obeidollah. At his house Muslim lodged on his arrival at Cufah, and there he dwelt till he came for shelter to the house of Sharik.

After the governor had discoursed some Muslim lets time with the sick man, the latter called able opporfor water. Muslim made a little stir, but tunity. had not courage enough to strike the blow. In the mean time, one of the governor's servants, who had attended him thither, observing what passed, suspected some treachery, and having found means to give his master a hint of his suspicions, he prevailed on him to leave the house without delay

Hani waited on the governor to his house, and returning to Sharik's chamber, he found him venting his reproaches on Muslim for his cowardice; and Hani could not help doing the like. "What an opportunity you have missed!" said he to him; "you might this night have been possessed of the castle,

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Yezib. Hegyra 60. Ch. ær. 679. and I leave you to judge how great advantage that event would have been to Hossein."

Muslim could not but agree that, confidering the situation of Hossein's affairs, his observation was very just; but he excused himself on account of a tradition which, as he had heard, came from the apostle, who said: "The faith is contrary to murther, let not a believer murther a man unawares." The execution of this previous project was so necessary to the success of the main design, that the excuse appeared to be very ill timed. And they were obliged to think of other measures: but the governor on his part was not wanting; he without delay took such steps as were the most likely to put an end to their cabals.

Sharik died three days after Obeidollah's visit, which was the best thing that could have happened to him in that juncture; for the governor had caused such strict enquiry to be made, that he discovered the correspondence Sharik had kept up with the Irakians, as well as the risk he himself had run, when he made the abovementioned visit.

One of Hoffein's party is feized.

Hani having been seized by order of the governor, it was soon known that the design was discovered. It was Obeidollah's first intention to have seized Muslim; but as he could not readily be found, he ordered Hani to be brought before him, concluding that the one would furnish him with the means of easily finding the other.

When

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When Hani appeared, the governor asked YEZID. him what was become of Muslim. Hani Hegyra 60. at first pretended that he did not know; but having been confronted by one of the governor's attendants who had feen Muslim at his house, and had paid him money for the service of Hossein, Obeidollah in a rage faid to him "Tell me this moment where he is."

"I would not tell you," replied Hani with great arrogance, "though I knew ever fo well." This insolent answer so incensed Obeidollah, that, unable to contain himfelf, he gave him a violent blow with his mace, which broke his nose, and wounded him forely. Hani in a fury attempted to fnatch a sword from one of the guards, but was prevented, and being secured, he was forthwith sent prisoner to the castle, and declared worthy of death.

This event made a great noise amongst Hani's friends in the city. A report being spread that he was murdered, a great number of armed men flocked to the castle, in order to revenge his death on the authors of it: but they were told that Hani was not dead, and that he was only imprisoned by order of the government, on which the croud dispersed.

The governor assembled his Emirs and chief men under him, and went to the prison to examine Hani; when suddenly a great noise was heard on all sides.

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YEZID. Hegyra 60. Ch. ær. 679.

The guard in the castle ran to arms; and news was brought to Obeidollah that a body of men was m rching up to the castle with colours slying.

Muslim takes up arms.

They were headed by Muslim, who, serioully reflecting on what had passed, resolved to declare himself openly, for he found that arms alone could secure him from Obeidollah's vengance. He therefore mounted his horse, and appearing in the streets of Cufah, gave the fignal agreed on to be given when it should be a proper time to begin the insurrection*; upon which he was soon joined by about four thousand men, with whom he marched out of the city (under two colours, the one green, and the other red) in order to surprize the castle. He at the same time dispatched an express to Hossein, entreating him to come and join him without delay.

The governor gave out such prudent orders, and his troops shewed so much courage and firmness, that Muslim was disheartened, and dared not to go on with his enterprize. The conspirators thus checked, Obeidollah sent several persons of note and credit out of the castle, who went amongst the people and dissuaded them from hazarding themselves on such an account.

The rebels abandon him.

These remonstrances had such an effect that the Cusians in general, terrified-at the

dangerous

The words were, Ya menfour ommet! O thou that art helped by the people! meaning Hossein.

YEZID.

dangerous situation of those who had taken up arms, left the city, and spread a panick Hegyra 60. among Muslim's troops. There was even a Mussulman who told that chief of the rebels, that he had best get away, or he would repent of it. He at first despised fuch language, and expected each moment to be joined by the rest of his party in Cufah, to attack the castle by open force; but how great was his surprize, when he faw the ranks of his soldiers insensibly thinned! all his men deserted him by degrees, and at last he was obliged to go and hide himself in the city, having no more of his adherents than thirty left about him out of the great number that had at first joined him.

The governor, who was highly pleased to find that the rebels dispersed of themselves, was in no great haste to seize Muslim; he suffered him to take refuge in the city, but he intended speedily to punish him for his rebellion: and he took no other step than the promising a reward to any person that should discover the traytor.

Muslim, having re-entered Cufah, and Muslim takes finding very few friends in the city, con-to flight. cealed himself during the rest of the day; about the twilight of the evening he departed without a guide, or any other person to assist or comfort him, so fearful was he of trusting any one of those people, whose inconstancy

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inconstancy he had so lately and so fatally

experienced.

As he was bent only on making his escape, and knew not the country, or whither to go, he wandered a long time without finding any place where he could conceal himfelf. At last, he saw a light at a distance, and making towards it, found a lone house. Having knocked at the door, it was opened by an old woman, of whom he asked some water to drink. He then informed her of the great satigue he had undergone, and begged she would permit him to stay the remainder of the night in her habitation

The woman refused to comply with his request, alledging that she had no place where she could lodge him: that she had but one spare room, which was her son's; but that she could not put any person into it, because she expected her son that very night from Cusah, whither he was gone on business, and that she had sat up so late in

expectation of his coming home.

Muslim, without being discouraged at her refusal, reiterated his entreaties, and pressed her at least to give him shelter under her roof till day-light. "It is in your power," said he, "to do me a signal service, which you will have no cause to repent of." "But pray who are you, and what would you have me do?" replied the woman. Muslim then told her his name, and how the people had deserted him; which she no sooner heard,

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heard, than she readily let him in, and conveyed him to the most secret and retired Hegyra 60. part of her house. And as he stood in great need of refreshment, she made the best provision for him in her power, and used the best means she could to enable him to pass the night comfortably.

Whilst the woman was thus employed, her son came home; and observing his mother to go backwards and forwards in an unusual manner, he asked what was the cause of it. She at first concealed the secret; but upon her son's great importunity, she owned to him, that Muslim having fled from Cufah, he had begged her to give him refuge at her house, and that she had with great

pleasure admitted him.

The young Mussulman having heard at Cufah that the governor had promised a reward to the person that should discover Muslim, he resolved to take the benefit of it. After having rested a few hours, he pretended he had business at the city, and fetting out early the next morning, went to Obeidollah, and informed him of the discovery he had made.

Upon this information, the governor fent Muslim is a party of fifty horse, who surrounded taken, and the house where Muslim was concealed; brought to and he being informed of his danger, inatched his sword, and went to oppose the horsemen who were then entering the doors. A very brisk attack enfued, and



Yezio. Hegyra 60. Ch. ær. 679: he behaved with amazing activity and courage; having killed several, and thrice driven the rest of the party out of the house.

It was of some advantage to Muslim, independant of his courage, that the horsemen had received orders to spare him; for the governor, who was desirous of going to the bottom of the conspiracy, had strongly injoined them to take him (if possible) alive. Spight of his stout resistance, he was at ast overpowered with numbers, and grievously wounded; when the party closing in upon him, he was disarmed; and being bound, was mounted on his own mule, and carried to Cusah.

The officer that commanded the detachment observing Muslim to weep, told him that it did not become a man who was at the head of so important and bold an enterprize, and who had just given such evident proofs of courage, to shed tears. Muslim answered, that he wept not for himself, but for Hossein, who, he feared, was on his journey to Cufah. He was so moved at the misfortunes with which that prince was threatened, that he attempted to send him advice not to proceed any farther, but to return to Mecca. For this purpose he applied to one of the horsemen, whom he judged to be of a more courteous and humane disposition than his comrades, and having conversed some time with him on the road, he gave him to understand that

he would be amply rewarded if he could YEZID. procure such information to be given to Hegyra 60. Hossein. The soldier promised to send a thær. 6794 messenger accordingly, which he performed,

but the messenger did not do his part.

When Muslim arrived at the castle, he found a great number of the Emirs, who were in the audience-chamber waiting for Obeid-ollah. It was no difficult matter for Muslim to perceive that the friends of Yezid were highly incensed against him: they even refused him a draught of water which he asked for on his arrival, telling him he should have no drink till he drank the Hamin.*

Though this outset prognosticated nothing in favour of Muslim, he was far from being dejected; on the contrary he shewed great firmness and resolution. When the governor appeared he did not salute him; and some that were present having taken the liberty of reproving him for it, he boldly answered, that if even Yezid were there, he should not think himself obliged so to do, unless he would give him his life.

Obeidollah being seated, with the rest of the Emirs, sharply reprimanded Muslim for raising disturbances and divisions amongst the people of Cusah, and of the rest of Irak, who were before that time peaceable and unanimous: "The inhabitants of Cusah,

^{*} A scalding liquor, which the Mahometans seign shall be the drink of the damned in hell.



YEZID. and of the rest of Irak are ready to prove He yia 60. the contrary of what you affert," answered on it. (79. Muslim with great boldness: "they have not forgot the cruelties of your father Ziyad, (which surpassed even those of a Cosroes) who tyrannized over the people, and made the cities and fields to flow with their blood. I came here, to subject those wretched inhabitants to the mild and equitable laws of a prince, who would have governed them according to justice, and the book revealed

to the prophet ."

The governor, enraged at Muslim's discourse, treated him very roughly; and amongst other things told him, he was not furely guided by the determination of the book, when he used to tipple wine at Medina. Muslim denied the accusation, and for the truth of his affertion appealed to God. At last, after some few other altercations, the governor pronounced sentence of death upon him. Having permission to make his will, Muslim whispered one of his friends to whom he gave seven hundred pieces of gold, and begged he would take care to prevent Hossein from proceeding any further on his journey. One of the by-standers having overheard what Muslim said, informed the governor of it, who declared that if Hofsein would be quiet, no person would dis-

turb him; but if he was the aggressor, they YEZID. Hogyra 60.

would not spare him.

Ch. ær. 679. In a short time Obeidollah caused Muslim to be carried to the top of the castle, where Hani we behe was beheaded. His head was first thrown headed. down to the bottom, and his body after it. Hani was beheaded the same day; but the execution was performed in the streets of Cufah. The governor sent both the heads to Yezid, with a letter containing a full account of that event.

Whilst this bloody scene was acting at Hossein pre-Cufah, Hossein was making preparations for pares for his his journey thither, expecting to find things journey to in a most favourable situation for him. Besides the account which Muslim sent him at the time he proposed to take the castle, he had received a great number of letters from the inhabitants of Cufah, earnestly requesting him to appear amongst them. They at the same time sent him a list of the number of those he might absolutely depend on; which, according to an arabian author, amounted to one hundred and forty thousand persons.

The earnest and repeated sollicitations of his adherents in Cufah, and the great number of friends he expected to find there, made Hossein resolve to accept the invitation. He sent to Cusah a trusty friend, named Kais, to give notice of his approach, and then made the necessary preparations for his departure, spight of the prudent remonstrances

Tien of

YE71D. Hegyra 60. Ch. ær 079.

of his friends, who dissuaded him from embarking in so desperate an undertaking. Abdallah the son of Abbas, an old man, venerable on account of his many eminent virtues and consummate prudence, visited him in hopes to prevail on him to give over the design. Hossein was persuaded he should not only fully refute all Abdallah's arguments, but also bring him over to his own opinion, by producing the letters he had received; he looked upon those as so many sure pledges of the success of his enterprize: he added, with a transport of joy, that relying on the assistance of heaven, he could by no means decline going, and putting himself at the head of such a body of brave men, who were ready to facrifice their lives and fortunes in his cause.

"I would readily concur with you in opinion," replied the fage old man, " if you were certain that the Cufians had taken up arms, killed their governor, driven out Yezid's forces, and were absolute masters of the city, and the whole province. But are they not in the power of their Emirs? are not his forces dispersed over the whole country to bridle the people? I wonder you cannot see through the design of the Cusians in giving you an invitation at such a juncture! they have invited you to embark with them in a war which they are ready to commence, through the turbulence of their dispositions; and they will as readily desert

desert you through their wonted fickleness and YEZID. perfidy. Have you any security that they Hegyra 60. will not even oppose you? You will one day see, Ch. ar. 679. that they who now feem so forward in your interest, will become your most inveterate enemies: and of this I could give you the clearest proof, if you were disposed to hear me." These remonstrances made no impression upon Hossein, who constantly persevered in a defign, which was infenfibly leading him to destruction.

After this Abdallah the fon of Zobeir came Behaviour of to pay him a visit, and held a long conference Wards Hofwith him touching his expedition to Cufah. fein. It was not either his design or his interest to disswade him from the undertaking: on the contrary, foreseeing that such a step must be fatal to him, he was delighted to find him so resolutely bent on taking it; for if Hossein failed in his attempt, Abdallah would find a more ready way to the Caliphate, which he secretly aspired to, but could entertain no hopes of attaining, so long as Hossein should be living.

However, he mentioned his journey to Cufah as an expedient not very necessary, or very proper for his promotion to the Caliphate. And the reason upon which he grounded his opinion was, that neither the inhabitants of that city, nor even those of the province in general, had any right of election to that dignity. He observed to him that the people of Mecca and Medina were alone intitled to that

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YEZID. Hegyra 60. Ch. ær. 679.

privilege, and he had better abide by them, than endeavour to strengthen him self by votes which might be afterwards disputed.

Hossein answered, that he could by no means refuie to accept the offers of the Cufians: he owned, that the Mcccans and Medinians had always possessed the right of election to the Caliphate; but that their want of resolution to defend their rights, had, doubtless, induced the Cufiais to assume that prerogative; and that they certainly took fuch a step with a view to shake off the yoke of the Caliphs of the house of Ommiyah, who bestowed all their favours on the Syrians, to the loss and prejudice of the people of Arabia. Abdallah-ebn-Zobeir seemed to be convinced by these reasons, and said to Hossein at parting, "If I had so numerous a body of friends, I would this moment put myself at their head, and make Yezid's throne shake."

Abdallah fuade him from the enterprize.

Abdallah-ebn-Abbas, who had already strives to di- given such prudent council to Hossein, could not but suppose that his arguments had produced some effect on the mind of the son of Ali; he therefore repeated his visit, that he might know his final resolution.

> Hossein used the same language to Abdallah, as he had made use of to all such as opposed his undertaking the journey; and repeated the same reasons he had urged in their former conference on that subject. " If you are resolved to go," said the old man, "at least do not take your wives and children with you,

> > for,

for, I fear your case will be like Othman s, Itzip. who was murdered, whilst his wit 5 and H ri 60. children stood looking on. Besides," said he, " you have rejoiced the heart of 1tdallahebn-Zobeir, whom you ought to look upon as your rival; you will leave him behind you in Mecca, and he will soon be master of the whole province of Hejaz. He earnestly wishes for your d parture; you are an obstacle to his ambitious designs; which he will openly avow the moment he shall have no longer reason to fear your presence. And I swear by that God, besides whom there is no other, if I was sure that my taking you by the hair of the head, and holding you till they came in and parted us, would be a means to detain you at Mecca, I would do it."

That zealous mussulman went still further. As he found that Hossein was bent on departing the next morning, he staid with him the whole night, and never ceased entreating him seriously to reflect on the fatal consequences that might attend his taking a step of so great importance; but he had the mortification to find that he made not the least impression upon a mind so strangely prejudiced, and he left him.

Hossein departed from Mecca with a com-Hossein depetent retinue consisting of his wives, his parts from children, and servants, and some friends that followed his fortune, in the whole about one hundred persons. He judged that this train would be sufficient, because he expected on

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YEZID. his arrival at Cufah, to have found all those Hegyra 60. under arms, of whom Muslim had made mention in the letter he sent to invite him to Ch. ær. 6-9. that city. But the face of affairs there was entirely changed; for on the very day that Hossein set out, the unfortunate Muslim was

The governor fends out troops agairst him.

executed.

Obeidollah, who was apprized of Hossein's approach, sent out against him a body of horse, consisting of 1000 men, under the command of Harro the son of Yezid; who was in no wise disaffected to Hossein's interest, and who appeared inclinable to behave towards him with great respect and moderation, if he would have renounced his design.

Harro being arrived at Asheraph, near the Euphrates, sent a party of his soldiers to the river for water; and ordered them, if they should meet Hossein, by no means to commit any violence against him, but if need were, to affist him in getting such a quantity of water as might be necessary for him and his train.

him.

Hosseininvites These orders were punctually executed. Harro to join They met Hossein, and behaved towards him with the utmost civility and respect. The son of Ali, deceived by these fair appearances, was in hopes of persuading the detachment to join him; and he defired to speak with the commanding officer. Harro having been informed of his request, consented, and they held a pretty long conference, in which Hofsein alledged the invitations of the Cusians

as the reason for his undertaking the expedi- YEZID. tion, and that they waited only his presence Hegyra 60. to begin their operations: he added, that con-Ch er 679. sidering all things, the conduct of the Cufians was not to be wondered at, for he had a right to the Caliphate. He then alledged proofs in support of his title, and produced the letters he had received from the Cufians, who openly acknowledged the justice of his pretensions, and promised to appear and act in support of them. And finally, he exhorted Harro with his party to submit to and join him, rather than the descendants of the house of Ommiyah, who maintained themselves in possession of the Caliphate only by exercifing a tyrannical authority over the Mussulmen.

"Ineither know, nor do I desire to know," replied Harro, "who are the persons that have prevailed on you to engage in this undertaking; (which I must confess, seems to me a very desperate one.) Nor can I conceive what dependance you can make on the letters of the Cufians. We had no hand in writing them, nor have I any inclination to read them. All I can fay is, that my orders are to bring you to the castle of Cufah, so soon as I could meet you. There you will have an opportunity to urge your reasons at large."

Hossein declared he would sooner dye than fubmit to fuch an order; and he commanded his men to decamp and march. But Harro caused his detachment to wheel, and by that motion



YEZID. motion intercepted them. Hossein in a rage Hegyra 60.. uttered the strongest imprecations * against Ch. ar. 679. him. Harro answered, "If any other man had presumed to say so much to me, I would have had satisfaction for the insult. But I have no room to mention your mother, with-

out the greatest respect."

He then commanded his soldiers to withdraw and stand at a little distance, and told Hossein that he had no orders to use violence against him, but that he was commanded by no means to part with him, till he had conducted him to Cufah. "However," added he, " let us take proper measures to prevent my being called in question, or exposed to any extremity on your account, and also to secure you from violence. Write to Yezid and Obeidollah; I will write to them also. If you are the aggressor, and begin the first onset upon the Cufians, you may perhaps gain your point; but if you wait till you are attacked, you will perish."

Whilst he was yet speaking, four horsemen appeared in fight, who came from Cufah. Hossein knowing one of them, who was called Thirmah, entreated Harro that he might be suffered to come up to them; but that officer made some difficulty in consenting, as he did not know what was their design. As soon as they came up, Hossein en-

^{*} In Arabic, the Colatka Ommoka, a common curse amongst the Arabians, and signifying in English, may your mother be childless of you.

quired of him touching the situation of his YFZID affairs at Cusah, and received a most melan-H-gyra 60 cholly account of the posture they were in.

"The nobility of Cufah," faid he, "are Hosten i told now against you to a man. It is true the hearts that his purty of some of the inhabitants are still with you; dispersed. but you may depend on it that to-morrow the swords of all will be drawn against you. As for your messenger Kais, whom you sent before you to prepare the way, he was thrown headlong from the top of the castle, by order of Obeidollah, for resusing to curse you and your father Ali*."

"I hope," continued Thirmah, "you will not think of engaging in that enterprize with fuch a handful of men as now accompany you: for the plains of Cufah are full of horse and foot ready to oppose you. I therefore entreat you not to stir a step further; and if you will accept of a safe retreat, I will conduct you to our impregnable mountain Aja, where I am sure they will not run the risque of coming to attack you; and in this asylum you may remain as long as you shall think sit."

It is matter of wonder, after having received an account of the defection of his

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chief

^{*} At this news Hossein wept, and repeated this verse of the Koran, "There are some of them who are already dead, and some of them stay in expectation and have not changed." He then added, "O God! let their mansions be in paradise, and gather them and us together, in the fixed resting place of thy mercy, and the del ghts of thy reward."



YEZID. Hegyra 60.. Ch. ær. 679.

chief friends at Cufah, that Hoffein did not abandon a design which could not but be fatal to him. And he had a fair opportunity of so doing, as Harro, who still continued with him, would have suffered him to retire without the least opposition. But Hoffein persisting in his resolution of going to Cufah, and preparing for his march thither, Thirmah took his leave.

In the mean time affairs took infenfibly a different turn. Obeidollah being informed of Hoffein's obstinacy, changed his first design of having him brought to Cusah. He was apprehensive that though the people had then declared against him, yet through their natural inconstancy, they might turn in his favour. He therefore dispatched a courier to Harro, with orders that he should conduct the son of Ali to a certain country named in the dispatches, in which were neither cities nor fortresses. And he commanded that Hossein should remain there till further orders.

In a short time that governor caused about 4000 men to march under the command of Amer-ebn-Said, who arriving soon in the neighbourhood of Hossein, sent one of his officers to enquire of him what brought him thither.

Hegyra 61. Ch. ær. 680.

Hossein, who doubtless had by that time reslected on the little probability there was of success in his enterprize, returned an answer, which, if it had been given a little sooner, might have extricated him from his difficulties. He told the officer, that if the Cusians had

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had not sent him repeated invitations to come and head them, heshould not have left Mecca; Hegyra 61. but as he fince found they had changed their sentiments, and rejected him, he was ready and willing peaceably to return with his family and friends to his usual place of residence.

This answer was highly pleasing to Amer, as it was likely to put an end to all disputes. That captain was firmly attached to Hossein; when Obeidollah ordered him to march, he even declined the command, and did not accept it till the governor had severely threatned him on account of his refusal. So soon therefore as he was acquainted with Hossein's intentions, he imparted them to Obeidollah.

But the governor, who at first seemed as Obeidollah if he would be satisfied with Hossein's re-requires Hosturn to Mecca, had also changed his senti-knowledge ments: and not content with the fon of Yezid as Ca-Ali's having dropped the design, Obeidollah liph. now required that he and his adherents should recognize Yezid to be lawful Caliph. He ordered Amer to bring the matter to a speedy issue; and, in order to obtain by the means of force and necessity that which he knew would never be granted with a free will, he ordered that officer in such a manner to surround Hossein's camp, as to cut off his communication with the rivers, a grievous inconvenience in that hot and barren country.

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Yezid. Hegyra 61. Ch. ær. 680: The governors orders having been imparted to Hossein, he sent to Amer, and desired he would confer with him between the two camps. That officer consented to it, and came forthwith to the appointed place; Hossein, who strove to avoid acknowledging Yezid as Caliph, defired that one of the three following conditions might be granted to him. Either 1st, that he might go to Damascus, and make an agreement with Yezid. Or, 2dly, that he might be permitted to return to Mecca. Or, 3dly, that he might be placed in some garrison, where he might make war on the Turks.

Upon the account of these proposals Amer thought he might defer executing Obeidollah's orders: he sent to inform him in what manner Hossein was then disposed to act, and to desire his directions in the matter.

Obeidollah having examined Hossein's proposals, was unwilling alone to determine what answer should be returned. He therefore called in a mussulman of note, called Shamer, and asked his opinion touching the terms that had been offered. Shamer told him, he thought the conditions were deceitful, and calculated only to gain time; and that Hossein ought to be admitted to no terms, till he had sincerely declared his sentiments as to Yezid, acknowledged him as Caliph, and taken the oath of allegiance to him.

This opinion determined the governor Yezid. (who at first seemed to look on the proposals Hegyra 61. as reasonable) and he appointed Shamer him- Ch. ær. 680. self to communicate his resolutions to Amer, and to inform him that he should kindly receive Hossein and his friends, if they would comply with the conditions; but in case of refusal, that he should cut in pieces all such as should make any resistance. And as Obeidollah had reason to apprehend that Amer would make some difficulty in executing those orders, (as well from what had already paffed, as from the advice he received of the long conference between that officer and Hofsein) he commanded Shamer, in case of disobedience of the general, to cause his head to be struck off, and to take the command in his stead. He at the same time gave particular directions, that the sons of Ali, who had accompanied their brother Hossein, should not be involved in the common calamity, but letters of protection and passports should be offered to them, that they might come to Cufah.

Shamer soon arrived at Kerbela, where the two camps of Hossein and Amer were situated, and communicated to the latter Obeidollah's orders. In consequence whereof an interview was held with Hossein, who refused to accept the terms offered him: the sons of Ali also seemed little inclined to accept the letters of protection and passports offered by the governor, inveighing against him,

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him, and faying, that the protection of God was better than that of the son of Sommiah*. Amer, finding that nothing could bring Hossein to reason, and that he should risque his own destruction in not obeying the Caliph's orders, resolved to attack the son of Ali.

Hossein made the best preparations he could for his defence; and as the number of his men was very small, in comparison to his enemies, he so formed his disposition, as to prevent being forced in his camp. He caused his tents to be strongly corded to each other, and so disposed the ropes that the enemy could not get between them, and also in the night-time covered his flanks with a deep ditch, which was filled with wood and cane, to be set on fire in case of an attack there; so that his camp was only accessible in front.

Combats between Hoffein's party of Cufah.

The next morning Hossein drew up his little troop + in order, and appeared with as and the troops much intrepidity as if he had been at the head of a numerous and well-disciplined army; and if he was not immediately defeated, it was owing to the conduct of Yezid's officers, who,

† Consisting only of 32 horse and 40 foot.

^{*} Sommiah was a loose woman, by whom Abu-Sosian, father of Moawiyah, had a fon named Ziyad, who was acknowledged by Moawiyah as his brother, tho' he was ille-So that the imputation of bastardy fell directly on Ziyad, rather than on Obeidollah, who was only grandfon to Sommiah; but they reaped up the shame of the father, in order to infult the son. And besides, that manner of expression is not uncommon in the old testament.

instead of falling on with their whole body, Yezid. suffered their soldiers singly to fight hand to Ch. ær. 680. hand with the soldiers of Hossein: at least, so Arabian historians relate the matter, and we cannot contradict them, how improbable soever their relation may be.

It is in truth very astonishing to see a body of troops near 5000 strong, commanded by an officer who would have lost his head in case of bad success, trisling away several days in accepting challenges, fighting duels, and tilting with a troop of about one hundred persons, whom they had orders at the same time to treat as rebels.

These single combats lasted three days, during which Hossein's champions distinguished themselves, and almost always were victorious.

Amer, finding that he lost the bravest of Hossein is his men in these combats, would not permit killed. them to accept any more challenges. He marched up all his troops against Hossein, and the affair was foon over. However, many of Amer's soldiers fell in the attack. Hossein's men, resolving to sell their lives dear, behaved with the utmost bravery; at last their chief, having been wounded with a sword on the head, and having received thirty-three other wounds, expired, covered with blood. Then they cut off his head, in order to send it to Obeidollah.

A Cufian, named Haula, was chosen for that purpose. As he arrived late at Cufah;



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he found the gates of the castle shut; he Hegyra 61. therefore went to ms own according to the governor, ch. ær. 680. night, and deferred waiting on the governor, He awaked his wife, till the next morning. He awaked his wife, who was in bed, and acquainted her with the cause of his coming in such haste to Cufah. "I have brought with me," said he, "a rarity, upon which the Caliph will fet the highest value." His wife, eagerly asking what it was; "It is Hossein's head," replied he. "Here it is; I am commanded to present it to the governor." The woman in a rage immediately leaped out of bed, not that she was terrified at the fight, for the generality of the Arabian women being accustomed to follow the armies, were used to the most bloody adventures: but Hossein being, by Fatima his mother, the prophet's grandson, that reason alone had a strange effect upon the woman's mind. "By the only God," faid she, "I will never lie again in the same bed with the man who has brought me the head of the grandson of his apostle."

> The Musfulman, who, according to the custom of his nation, had more wives than one, procured another, who was not so difficult, to supply her place. But the poor woman reported, that she could not sleep all night, because of a light which she saw streaming up towards heaven from the place

where Hossein's head lay.

The next morning Haula came to the castle, and presented the head to Obeidollah.

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brought to the

the ARABIANS.

He at first viewed it with a brutal pleasure; then treated it reproachfully, as if it had been a living object, and struck it over the mouth Hossein's with his stick. An old man who was then head is present, took the liberty of reproving the governor for his behaviour, and told him that Cufah. he ought to have shewed-more respect to the head of Hossein. "For," said he, "I have seen the lips of the apostle of God upon those lips." Obeidollah was highly displeased at the reproof, and told Zeid-ebn-Arkom, (for so he was called) that had he not a reverence for his age, he would that moment have caused his head to be struck off.

When he considered the discourse of this old man, he foresaw that Hossein's death would be laid to his charge; he doubted not, but that his enthusiastic followers would frame a multitude of idle and ridiculous tales and fancies; which, tho' despicable in the main, would be of considerable use in raising the credit of the faction of the Alians.

However, he still persevered in the same fentiments: and the manner in which he treated the head of Hossein, shewed what those of his family must expect: they were indeed all made prisoners in that juncture.

Zeinab, Hossein's sister, was brought to Conference the castle, with Ali, son of that unfortunate between him prince, and a daughter then young. Obei- and Zeinab, dollah treated Zeinab with great haughtiness. sister. He exulted on the success of Yezid's arms,

and

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and triumphed in the fall of Hossein and his adherents.

Zeinab, who was a woman of great understanding, and of still greater courage, plainly told Obeidollah, that God would call him to judgment for his wicked dealings towards the family of the prophet; which enraged him much, and he replied with great heat and passion; but having been reminded by one of his friends that she was a woman, and that it was beneath him to be offended at what she said, he was pacified, and commended her for her good qualities. He owned she was a true daughter of Ali, who, he confessed, was a man of great note amongst the Mussulmen, and equally famous for bravery, and his admirable skill in poetry: an accomplishment, which, as we have already observed, was by the Arabians set on a level with courage.

She faves the life of Hoffein's fon.

But altho' Obeidollah had been so liberal in his praises of Ali and Zeinab it did not prevent him from forming a resolution of putting the young Ali (Hossein's son) to death. Zeinab, who heard the fatal order issued, that must deprive her of a nephew she dearly loved, sued for his pardon, and even offered to suffer death in his stead. "If you have not yet drank deep enough of the blood of our family," said she to the governor, "add to it mine." Obeidollah seemed to be struck at the uncommon affection she shewed, and Zeinab continued to plead for her

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her nephew in so moving a manner, that at last he was forgiven and dismissed. This was Hegyra 61. the second time that child had run the risque of his life; for at the time of his father's death, he was doomed to destruction upon the field of battle, but he was faved by an officer, and was afterwards called Zein Alabedin, which fignifies, the ornament of the religious.

As to the unfortunate Hossein, his body was buried in the plain of Kerbela, on the fpot where the battle was fought; and a noble mausoleum was afterwards erected over his grave. His head was first set up in Cufah, and afterwards carried about the Areets, to strike the party of the Alians with terror, but that spectacle did not answer the end which Obeidollah expected from it.

The governor went from the castle to the The governor chief Mosque, and ascending the pulpit, he reviles the reviled the memory of Hossein, in a speech Hossein. which began thus: "Praised be God, who hath manifestly shewn the truth, and those that follow it, and hath affisted Yezid the governor of the faithful, and his party, and destroyed the liar, and the son of the liar, Hossein the son of Ali and his party."

These words so highly provoked Ali's The Alians party, that several of them rose up in great resent it. indignation, in order to depart. Amongst the rest, was a venerable citizen, who was blind of both his eyes, which he had lost in two several battles, and who used to continue Vol. II.

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in the Mosque, praying from morning till night. He hearing Obeidollah's speech, cried out, "O son of Merjana*," saidhe, "the liar, the son of the liar, are you, and your father, and he who made you governor, and his father. O son of Merjana, you kill the prophets, and

speak the words of honest men."

The governor, in a rage, caused the man to be forthwith seized; but some of his party rose, and rescued him from the guards. Obeidollah finding the ferment so great, was unwilling to carry matters to extremity, for fear of creating a greater disgust by a numerous execution. However, in a few days, the blind man was taken and put to death, and his body hanged on a gibbet in the square before the Mosque. This execution quelled the mutineers, whose insurrection was disapproved of by the more moderate Alians: the generality of them even blamed the rashness of that Mussulman, fearing he thereby had brought ruin not only on himself, but on the whole party also.

When Obeidollah had fully glutted his vengeance, he sent the head of Hossein to Damascus, together with Zeinab and the rest of the family. He also sent a letter by the commander of the troops that escorted them, to Yezid, in which he wished him joy of the victory gained by his forces, as well as of the utter extirpation of the opposite party,

^{*} Obeidollah's mother was called Merjana.

of which, he said, he had sent him plain and YEZID. convincing proofs.

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This letter did not meet with fo favourable a reception as Obeidollah expected: Ye-Yezid blames zid meant only to keep Hossein within pro-cerduct, and per bounds, he was grieved at the news of is moved with his death, and could not help openly blaming towards Itofthe governor's cruelty. "God curse the son sein's family. of Sommiah," said he, shedding tears: " had Hossein been in my power, I would have forgiven him: God loved Hossein, but did not suffer him to succeed in his designs."

The compassion with which the Caliph was filled, on hearing of the unhappy end of Hossein, was extended to his whole family. Yezid ordered the wives and children of that ill-fated prince to be brought before him; but he was moved when he saw them appear in a mean and wretched condition, and repeating his imprecations on Obeidollah; he said in his wrath, "God curse the son of Sommiah, if he had been the father of these women ought he to have suffered them to have appeared in such a wretched condition?"

The fight of young Ali seemed to affect him the more sensibly. He travelled from Cufah to Damascus with a chain about his neck; and in that condition was brought before the Caliph. Yezid was then highly pleased that he had not listened to the cruel advice which had been given him by Ali; for on information being received at court, that he had haughtily refused to exchange a word

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YEZID. with the officers of the escort, during the whole journey, one of the Caliph's counsellors represented to him, that the young prince might one day become very formidable; and it was necessary to destroy him, "For," said he, "no man would bring up the whelp of a cur who may one day bite his master." But other counsellors who were more * humane, opposed such a piece of cruelty, and their

advice prevailed.

When therefore that young prince appeared at court, the Caliph, moved at the wretched condition he saw him in, caused him to approach, and spoke to him with great affability. He concluded the audience by faying to him: "Your father would by force have deprived me of my throne; but God hath otherwise ordered." Young Ali briskly replied, with this verse of the + Koran "No accident happeneth in the earth, not in your persons, but the same was entered in the book of our decrees, before we created it."

Dispute beliph and Zeinab.

The Caliph also entertained the wives of tween the Ca- Hossein, and the rest of his family with all possible civility and respect. But a dispute fuddenly arose, which had like to have proved A Syrian lord having taken a liking

The humane counsellorssaid to Yezid; "O emperor of the faithful, do with them as the apostle of God would do, if he were to fee them in this their condition." Which moved the Caliph to compassion.

to Fatima, Hossein's youngest sister, who. YEZID. accompanied Zeinab, begged the Caliph would Hegyra 61. Chr. ær. 680. till Yezid had returned an answer to the nobleman's request, but remonstrated to the Caliph, that as the Syrian was of a different sect from her sister, it was contrary to the law of the apostle to give her to him: "it is

even out of your power" faid she, haughtily

to the Caliph, "to do it."

Yezid, enraged to see such an attempt made on his authority, answered Zeinab, that it was in his power, and he would do it if he thought fit. The daughter of Ali replied, that it was not in his power to force them to change their religion. The Caliph, raising himself from his seat, cried out in a fury, " Is it so then that you dare to answer me? it is your father and brother who have renounced the true religion." Zeinab, without being disconcerted, replied in an ironical tone; "You pretend apparently to be in the right way; without doubt your father and mother were so also." The Caliph, who now grew more furious, was going to have treated her with very opprobious language, when Zeinab, who still preserved her usual pride and grandeur, said, "Though I am, my lord, a woman in affliction, you are the commander of the Faithful; and do you so unjustly abuse your power? these few words conveyed so sensible a reproach, that the Caliph blushed, and was ashamed of having abandoned N_3



Hegyra 61. Ch. xr. 680.

YEZID. . abandoned himself to passion, and thought he could not make a better reparation for his fault than by shewing now as much affability and politenessas he before hadviolence and rage. He therefore gave orders to conduct Zeinab and her attendants to the warm baths, and soon after sent magnificent robes and various kinds of refreshments.

> The Syrian lord, still hoping that the Caliph would interpose his authority to obtain him Fatima, renewed his petition; but Yezid gave him a tart denial, and bid him speak of it no more.

Yezid's affection for Hossein's two fons.

By so happy a change of the Caliph's disposition, in favour of this wretched family, they were amply provided of all necessaries, and found the bitterness of their past misfortunes a little alleviated. Yezid lodged them all in his palace; and even grew so fond of Hossein's two sons, Ali, and Amru, that he never went abroad without taking them with him. Khaled, Yezid's eldest son, also became very intimate with them, and the Caliph took a fingular pleasure in seeing them play together. Being one day desirous of finding out the temper of Amru, who was very little, he asked him if he was willing to fight with his fon Khaled, " why not, replied he with vivacity, "give each of us a fword."

A Syrian lord who was present, beheld, with admiration, the courage and resolution of the child; but at the same time reflecting

that those rising qualities might in time affect YEZID. the peace of the state, and that Amru, pur-Hegyra 61. suing the steps of his father Hossein might perhaps occasion a revolution, said to Yezid, "Take care, and be affured that a serpent always produces its like." Yezid paid little regard to the prognostic; and abated nothing of his tenderness to the child; nor of his kind respects towards the family of Hossein.

The family of Hossein having made a The family of long stay at Damascus, notwithstanding the Hossein regreat kindness and civility with which the dina. Caliph treated them, appeared defirous of returning to Arabia, particularly to Medina; where the wives of Hossein were disposed to fix their abode. The Caliph, being acquainted with their desires, consented to them, and ordered every thing necessary to be prepared

for their journey.

When the Caliph dismissed them, he shewed great concern at parting, and embracing young Ali in particular, said to him "Write to me often, and visit me when you conveniently can, and be affured that whatsoever you desire shall be done for you."

The whole family therefore left Damascus, escorted by a numerous detachment, which the Caliph had put under the command of an officer of note, called Noman-ebn-Bashir. He punctually executed the Caliph's orders, and behaved towards them with the utmost civility and respect all the way. When they approached Medina, Fatima,

The HISTORY of

YEZID. who was thoroughly sensible of that of-Hegyra 61.. ficer's great politeness, vigilance and care, Ch. ær. 680. Gid to her fifter Zeinah, this Syrian hath said to her sister Zeinab; this Syrian hath behaved so kindly to us, that I think we ought to make him a present. Zeinab was of the same opinion, but the difficulty was, what they should give him, for they were then possessed of nothing of any value, save their bracelets. "Let us then present them to him, said the girl;" Zeinab consenting, they took off their bracelets, and sent them to Noman with an apology; begging he would accept of them as a small token of their respect for his courtesy. He modestly refused the gift, with this generous answer: "If what I have done had been only with a view to worldly interest, a less price than your jewels had been sufficient, but all that I have done was solely to please God and to testify the sincere regard I have for you and for all who are followers of the prophet." He then took his leave of them and returned to Damascus.

> This unfortunate family, being now returned to Medina, began to enjoy a tranquillity to which it had been a long time a stranger; yet not till after shedding many tears for the cruel death of the unhappy Hossein.

Some authors assure us that the head of Authors are divided in their accounts that prince was also sent back to Medina, of the place of and interred near his mother Fatima. Others Hossein's sesay that it remained at Damascus, and pulchre. was put in a place called "Bal-al-Fa-

radis,"

And that afterwards it was removed to Pa-Hegyra 61. Ch. ær. 680. lestine, from whence it was carried by the Caliphs of Egypt and buried at grand Cario, and a monument erected over it, which was called "Meschaid Hossein," or the sepulchre of Hossein.

But this account cannot be depended upon. Though it is certain that the sect of Ali have published whole volumes of fables touching the fate of the head of Hossein, and even touching the place where the rest of his body was buried, which we have already said was Kerbela. And writers have given a long and particular account of the pilgrimages made to his tomb, and of the great miracles said to be wrought there.

The Persians, who are of the sect of Ali, Veneration have to this day the greatest veneration for of the Perthat Caliph, and his two sons, Hassan and sein. Hossein, whom they call the two lords. But they chiefly hold in reverence Hossein, whom they consider as a martyr: he is as it were the oracle, the saint, or to speak more properly, the idol of the nation; and they say, that if Mahomet could return upon earth he would have cause to be jealous of the great regard and esteem they pay to the memory of his grand-son.

The peace of the musulman empire was Revolt of far from being confirmed by the death of Abdallah the that prince. Abdallah the son of Zobeir, who had never submitted to Yezid's go-

vernment,

YEZID. Hegyra 61. Ch. ær. 680.

Abdallah is acknowledged Caliph
of Medina
and of Mecca.

vernment, declared publickly against him and by his conduct shewed that Yezid had in him a very formidable rival.

Abdallah, who had acquired the esteem and good will of the Arabs by his attachment to the mussulman religion, and more so by his mild and engaging behaviour, made so prudent a management of their disposition in his favour; that he obtained his ends; and was solemnly declared Caliph of Medina and Mecca.

After he was proclaimed Caliph, he harangued the people, and taking advantage of the concern that was in general expressed for the loss of Hossein, endeavoured to prejudice them against Yezid, and to engage all their voices in his own favour. He recalled to their minds the virtues and excellent qualities of that illustrious grandson of the prophet, and drew a moving picture of the perfidy of the Cuffians, who had treated him with indignity after having invited him to come to them. And observing the inclinations of the people of Medina and the great regard that they had for the prince's family; he affected to speak of them with fuch respect and veneration as had a very strong effect over the whole nation in his own favour.

He acted in the same manner at Medina, whither he went shortly afterwards, and where he was received with the same acclamations as at Medina. The speeches he

made

YIZID.

the ARABIANS.

made in praise of Hossein, recalled to their minds the love they had borne to that prince, Hegyra 61. and they were ready to avenge his death, by

shaking off the yoke that had occasioned it.

Yezid was greatly surprized when he heard of this revolution. He wrote letters full of menaces against Abdallah, and even fent a filver collar to the governor of Medina, with orders to put it about his neck, and send him thus to Damascus. But Abdallah's party was so strong that the governor dared not attempt to put the Caliph's order in execution.

Amru-ebn-Saïd, governor of Mecca, was also greatly embarassed, when he saw Abdallah publickly performing the functions of Caliph. He found it necessary to act with the utmost caution and circumspection in so critical a juncture. And finding he was not able to cope with the enemy, he had recourse to dissimulation, and pretended that he only waited for the countenance of some person of note to join with the rest of the people.

On this pretence he consulted a Mussul- The governor man of great repute, named Abdallah, the of Mecca consults fon of Amru, who was famous for his pro-touching the sound understanding, who used to study the revolt of Ab-stars, and also the writings of the Jews, particularly the prophecies of Daniel, which he had carefully examined. The governor having sent for him, asked what was his opinion of what had happened at Medina

and

YEZID.
Hegyra 61.
Ch. ær. 680.

and Mecca; to whom he boldly replied, that Abdallah would be king, and continue such to his death.

This prophetic answer being spread through Arabia, those who were attached to Abdallah-ebn-Zobeir grew more bold, whilst he made use of every-means to preserve himself for the throne. In the mean time Amru, who was cautioned by this prediction, omitted nothing that was in his power to guard

against the designs of the new Caliph.

Yezid removes him from his government. The enemies of Amru took this opportunity to prejudice those who were near Yezid, whom they boldly accused of negligence or cowardice for not having seized upon Abdallah when he first revolted. Yezid, being enraged, removed Amru, and put in his place Waled the son of Otbah; who had no sooner taken possession of his government, than he caused a great number of the servants and dependants of his predecessor Amru to be imprisoned. Three hundred were seized on the very first day; and their having been barely acquainted with the last governor was enough to expose a man to the violence and sury of Waled.

Hegyra 62. Ch. ær. 681.

So harsh a conduct displeased every one, and Amru thought the general discontent was a favourable circumstance for prevailing on his friends to strike a blow he had meditated, and which could not fail of success. He sent a private message to the prisoners, informing them that he was going to Da-

mascus.

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mascus, to acquaint the Caliph with the fituation of affairs; that if they chose to Ch. ær. 681. join him, they must, by the help of their numbers, break open the prison. He assured fies his conthem that they should be duly supported dust before in case of opposition, and that they should find ready in the street a sufficient number of camels, to carry them to that city

of camels, to carry them to that city.

Amru took the advantage of going to Damascus, where he was well received by the Caliph, who nevertheless reproached him with the little care that he had taken of his interests in the late occurences. "I beseech you, commander of the faithful, to hear me," replied Amru, "That which is present" added he, "you can better see than what is passed, the Meccans and the Arabs of Hegiaz were so very outragious, and affembled in fuch prodigious numbers to proclaim Abdallah, that the forces which I then had were not sufficient to attack them. On the other hand, Abdallah, who was jealous of me, was always upon his guard, and never appeared but with a great number of his friends to attend him. It is true, I affected a great deal of indifference with regard to every thing that happened; but at the same time I was watching for a favourable opportunity to sieze him. I very well saw, that notwithstanding his great credit and his able politics, that he was embarrassed in all his proceedings; for I had taken. 190

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Hegyra 62. Ch. ær. 681.

YEZID. taken care to guard all the avenues to the city, and none were suffered to enter without telling their name. Those whom I found were Abdallah's friends, I dismissed immediately without any further inquiry; as to those who appeared to have no connection with him, I enquired the cause of their coming to Mecca, and made them tell me where they proposed to lodge; and in consequence, I caused all their steps to be closely watched; you see what I thought fit to be done for your service. And now you have fent Waled, the son of Otbah, who, (if we may judge from the beginning he has made) will give you such an account of his administration as will justify my conduct, and convince you of the fincerity of my advice."

Yezid was greatly struck at Amru's defence, and owned it had surprized him. He expressed great resentment against those who had basely done Amru so ill an office, and obligingly told him, that he knew his enemies well, and was perfuaded there was not one amongst them that could be compared with him for probity; he from that moment took Amru again into favour, desired him to continue at court, and treated

him with great distinction.

Complaints are made against the new governor of Mecca.

Publick fame foon confirmed what Amru had said of the new governor Complaints came from the several districts of Arabia, and at last Abdallah-ebn-Zobeir

YEZID.

wrote a letter to Yezid, in which he complained that he had sent a man to be go- Hegyra 62. vernor there, who was absolutely incapable of so important a trust. And he at the same time even gave the Caliph to understand that he would recal Waled, and send one in his place with whom he might treat, and who had the means of accommodating those troubles.

This letter greatly surprized Yezid. He was pleased to see his rival acknowledge his power, and even to ask of him the exercise of it in the very city of which Abdallah had caused him to be proclaimed Caliph. As this letter also spoke of a peace, which was what Yezid wished for, he immediately took the proper method to re-Yezid sends move the obstacles that opposed it, and re-Othman in called Waled, and appointed in his place his place. Othman*, a relation of his own. He was one indeed of but an indifferent understanding, devoid both of sense and experience, in a word very incapable of unravelling the intrigues which then divided the empire of the Arabs.

Othman set out for Arabia, and stopping Othman as-at Medina, received the submission of some the submission of them who acknowledged Yezid, which of the Mehe considering as the act of the whole dinese. nation, imagined from thence the authority of that prince to be founded on a rock, and

* The son of Mahomet, and grandson of Abu-Sosian.

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YEZID. Hegyra 62. Ch. ær. 68i.

The ambaffadors entertain a contempt for
Yezid.

without further enquiry, he sent ambassadors to Damascus to assure the Caliph of the obedience of the Medinians.

This embassy was more hurtful to Yezid than all the plots that had already been contrived against him. The extraordinary appearance of a court where the sovereign paid no regard either to religion, or even to common decency, was ample matter of offence to the ambassadors. And in fact Yezid passed his days in indolence and frivolous amusements: he minded nothing but splendid entertainments, where, in contempt of the musfulman law, they drank all forts of wine to the utmost excess; and his evenings were usually spent in company of finging and dancing women, and in convertation with buffoons and other mean fellows.

The medinian deputies were received with great pomp and civility. They continued some time at the Caliph's court; and at their departure he made them considerable presents: but all he could do was not able to get the better of the great indignation and contempt they had conceived against him.

When the ambassadors returned to that city, they did not in the least spare Yezid; on the contrary, they gave such a description of the debaucheries of his court; and in particular of his own disorderly life, as in-flamed

flamed the people against him. And they, Yezid. being ashamed of obeying a prince who Hegyra 62. Ch. ær. 681. they judged unworthy to rule over men, took advantage of the then reigning divisions to shake off his authority, and in a private assembly of the ambassadors, and of some of the principal men of Medina, after having expatiated on the causes of complaint against that prince, they declared him unworthy the throne, and deposed him-from the Caliphate.

Yezid was soon informed of the descrip- Yezid orders tion which the ambassadors had given of Almundir, his person and conduct at Medina. In the ambassadors, first emotions of his passion, he resolved to to be seized. send a body of troops to Medina, to punish the inhabitants of that city; but hearing that one of those ambassadors, named Almundir, was gone to Basorah, and had there spoke of him full as injuriously as the others, he determined to cause him to be seized, and by punishing him, to intimidate his fellows. With this view he wrote to Obeidollah, who was then governor of that city, and commanded him to bind Almundir, and confine him strictly till further orders.

· But his commands were not executed. The governor Obeidollah, who had long entertained a of Basorahi friendship for Almundir, took measures for means for Alsending him out of Basorah, without run-mundir to es ning the risque of incurring the Caliph's cape. resentment; he advised him (as the most VOL. II. certain

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YEZID. Hegyra 62.. Ch. ær. 681. certain way of succeeding) to gain some of the chief citizens, and then, after publick prayer, one day to represent that he came to Basorah on private affairs, which he had fuccessfully terminated, and was desirous for urgent reasons to go to Medina; but he had heard that the governor had iffued orders that no person should depart without his leave, and he was then to entreat the assembly that they would intercede with the governor that he might be permitted to go about his business. This scheme succeeded, as it had been foreseen. The inhabitants loudly required that Almundir might be permitted to leave Basorah. The governor at first made some difficulty; but he was forced to comply with their request, and he was delighted to have that seeming force put upon him, which at the same time that it enabled him to fave his friend, proved his own security against the Caliph's displeasure.

claims against the Caliph.

Almundir ex- The arrival of Almundir at Medina, augmented the publick hatred against Yezid. He confirmed all that the ambassadors had already faid to the disadvantage of that prince; and confessed, that though he had received considerable presents from him, he could not help openly speaking his sentiments of a sovereign, who was a Mussulman only in name, and neglected every duty of his religion; who gloried in his scanda-

lous debaucheries, and by his example drew YEZID. his whole court into the utmost libertinism. Hegyra 62.

Yezid, being alarmed at his escape, and vexed at the reports he had spread in tants of Mec-Medina, sent to that city Noman-ebn-ca and Me-Bashir to quiet the people, and persuade dina openly revolt. them to return to their allegiance. But Noman, did not succeed: on the contrary, that envoy having threatened them with a body of troops, which he said the Caliph would certainly send amongst them if they persisted in their rebellion, the Medinians made preparations to repel force with force. They acted in concert with the Meccans, and immediately appointed a general to command their army. Abdallah-ben-Mothi was appointed to head the Coreischites, and Abdallah, the son of Hantéla, commanded the Medinians.

However, before they entered upon action, another deputation was sent to Damascus, which was attended with no better fuccess than the former. Though Yezid made very valuable presents both to Abdallahebn-Hantéla, and those who composed his train, they did not think him more worthy the Caliphate, and the account they gave at their return of the Caliph's person and court, was full as unfavourable as that which was given by the former negotiators.

In this year the Medinians solemnly de-Hegyra 63. clared against Yezid. They broke out in-Ch. ær. 682. to open rebellion, in a manner which bor-

Ch. ær. 681..

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YEZID. Hegyra. 63. Ch. ær. 682.

The Medinians depose Yezid.

dered on madness. When the people assembled in the mosque in order to depose him, their proceedings were tumultuous, and without the least form or order. of them rifing up, took off his turban, and threw it on the ground, faying at the same time, "I lay aside Yezid, as I lay aside this turban." In a moment such of the assembly as were within hearing followed his example; a vast number of turbans were soon flying about, and they that threw them repeated the same form of words. In another part of the mosque, a Mussulman pulled off his shoe, and said, "I put away Yezid, as I put away this shoe." The Mussulmen who were near him, also pulled off their shoes and threw them down, repeating what he had said. And thus was Yezid solemnly deposed from the sovereign power.

They force the Ommi-

It may be supposed that after the Medinians had proceeded thus far, they would into the castle. endeavour to compleat their wo k. Othman, governor of Mecca, who had remained at Medina during all the disturbance, was driven out, and the whole family of Ommiyah, with all their friends and dependants, were sentenced to be banished. But instead of obeying the sentence, they staid in Medina, and took resuge in the house of Merwan-ebn-Hakem, governor of the city, where the Medinians closely besieged them. But as the Ommiyans confisted of about one thousand men, and as the governor was alfo

YEZID.

also provided of some forces to defend himself, it was no difficult matter to hold the Hegyra 63. besiegers in play; and the Ommiyans had time to send an express to Damascus, to inform Yezid of the dangerous situation they were in, and of the event which had occasioned it.

The Caliph, enraged at the revolt of the Amrure-Medinians, at last resolved to put in execu- fuses to comtion the menaces he had so often uttered, troops sent of punishing their insolence. To this end against the held a conference with Amru-ebn-Medinians. Saïd, who agreed there was no time to lose, and that a body of troops must be sent to Medina. He even gave some advice in what manner the enterprize should be conducted; and the Caliph was so pleased with the methods Amru proposed, that he offered him the chief command of the expedition. But the latter excused himself on divers accounts, and amongst others, that as the Meccans had concurred with the Medinians, the Coreischites, which was one of the chief tribes of Mecca, would warmly engage in the war, and there would doubtless be a very great effusion of blood; to which he could by no means contribute, as he was so nearly related to the chiefs of that tribe.

Yezid seemed convinced by these reasons, Yezid gives the command and pressed him no farther. He sent for to Mellem. Meslem, the son of Okbad, an officer of great merit, who willingly accepted the command,

YEZID. command, though he was very aged and Hegyra 63. infirm. But this he did rather with a view Chr. ær. 682 to subdue the rebellious Medinians, than to relieve the Ommiyans, who had taken shelter in the castle. He maintained that they were cowards, and did not deserve to be assisted, since, being so numerous, they had suffered themselves to be shut up, instead of cutting a way through their enemies fword in hand, and making a gallant retreat. And he even proposed to the Caliph that he might halt near Medina, and not affist them till they deserved encouragement

by exerting themselves.

But Yezid did not relish this advice; he told Messem his life would be a burden to him if they were not safe, and therefore he must extricate them whether they deserved it or not: but to avoid too great an effusion of blood, he commanded the general to fummon the town on his arrival; to repeat the summons the second day, in case they refused to surrender; and to do the like the third day; after which he should storm the city, and give it up for three days to the mercy of the soldiers. He nevertheless gave particular directions touching young Ali and his family. "I know," said the Caliph, "that neither he, nor any of his family are concerned in the measures of the rebels, wherefore be careful of their safety, and shew them the utmost respect."

These

These orders given, the Caliph reviewed YEZID. his troops, which amounted to twelve thou-Hegyra 63. Sand horse, and five thousand foot, he invested Messem with the command, and caused him to march forthwith.

The Medinians were not intimidated on The Medinithe approach of the Caliph's troops. They ans are berejected the summons with contempt, and forced to surobliged Meslem to attack them in form. render. They for some time made a bold and vigorous defence, but their chief officers having been slain in several attacks, and finding

that they should soon be in want of provi-

fions, they began to think of their safety, and proposed a capitulation.

The general answered, that as they had refused the offers he made the three first days after his arrival, he would not receive them but at discretion; and the Medinians were reduced to such extremity, that they were forced to submit to the will of the conqueror. They therefore opened their gates, and Meslem entered the city at the head of his troops sword in hand. For some time no disorders were committed; the general having commanded the soldiery to remain quiet, till he should give the signal, and they continued under arms expecting his orders.

Meslem used that precaution, that he Ali's family might have time to secure Ali, and the rest faved from of Hossein's family, as the Caliph had commanded. He therefore sent for them, and

they

YEZID. they came before him full of fear, as men Hegyra 63. that expected to be the first victims immo-Chr. ær. 682 lated to the Caliph's fury; but they were agreeably surprized when the general treated them with great goodness and affability, strove to quiet their fears, and gave to Ali, who was at their head, the utmost proofs of esteem, and even of respect. He caused Ali to mount on his own camel, and appointed a large body of troops to escort him and his family to a place of fafety.

Medina is facked.

This done he gave the signal, and the city was given up to the fury of the soldiers. They put all to the sword that they met, except about a thousand women, whom they got with child; as to pillage, they made no distinction; they plundered every thing that was valuable, and set fire to what they could not carry away.

Meslem, loaded with the spoils of the

Medinians, led his victorious army to Mecca,

Death of Meslem.

> with a design either to seize Abdallah, or to ruin the city, in case the inhabitants should make any resistance; but that general was seized on the road with a distemper that carried him off almost suddenly. The command having devolved by right on a captain named Hossein, whom Yezid had appointed lieutenant-general, he put himself at the head of the Syrian army, who continued their march, and shortly appeared under

the walls of Mecca, to which they laid

Hossein succeeds him, and besieges Mecca.

fiege.

The operations of the besiegers were not YEZID. attended with the success the general ex-Hegyra 63. pected. Abdallah, since he had fixed his residence in that city, had caused some additional works to be erected, which rendered the approaches to it very difficult; insomuch that Hossein, who expected to have taken the place after a very short siege, had furioully battered the walls near forty days without making any confiderable impression upon them. However he still continued the siege, and pushed on the works so vigorously, that he set fire to part of the city, and with his batterring engines destroyed the most considerable edifices. The Syrians, encouraged by these advantages, depended upon taking Mecca, and making it share the same fate with Medina, but a piece of news arrived, which put an end to all hostilities.

Yezid was no more. That Caliph died Hegyra 64. at Hawwarin, a city of Syria, in the territories Ch. ær. 683. of Hems, after having reigned three years Death of and fix months. So foon as the account of his death reached the Syrian camp, Hossein Abdallah de-caused the attack to cease, and demanded a clines being conference with Abdallah. The latter having Hossein's consented; was much surprized to hear army. Hossein make an offer of acknowledging him as Caliph, and joining him with his whole army. Having reflected some time on so advantageous an offer, he did not think fit to trust Hossein: he thanked that officer

YEZID.

Hegyra 64. Ch. ær. 683.

The HISTORY of

officer for his good will, and told him, that for many reasons of the utmost consequence, he could not possibly accept his offer.

We are not told what was the motive to his refusal. Perhaps he suspected that Hossein meant to ensnare him by such specious proposals. However it was, he returned into the city, and in a short time Hossein caused his troops to decamp, and, together with Merwan-ebn-Hakem, and those of the house of Ommiyah, who had remained at Medina with that governor, (where he protected them from all attempts of Ab-

dallah's party) marched into Syria.

Why the Mussulmen condemned Yezid.

The subjects of Yezid did not lament his death. That Caliph had rendered himself odious and despicable on account of his luxury and debauchery, and especially of his irreligion. It could not be laid to his charge that he favoured one sect more than another. He equally despised them all, and took a pleasure in openly infringing the laws and customs established by Mahomet. He was the first Caliph that drank wine publickly, and was waited upon by eunuchs. Besides, he was fond of dogs, for which he was reproached by the more scrupulous Mahometans, who held that animal in utter detestation.

He likewise drew on himself the hatred of the people, on account of two vices which seem very opposite, I mean, prodigality and covetousness, which he carried to the utmost

utmost excess. Being greedy of the pro- YEZID. perty of others, he often plundered the Hegyra 64. honest subject of the money he had laboriously gained; whilst, on the other hand, he lavished away great sums on women of a debauched life, musicians, and base courtiers, who meanly applauded him for his luxury and other irregularities.

The only merit arabian writers allow him is, that he excelled in poetry*. That talent, so unlikely to make a sovereign respectable, was, as we have observed, held in great esteem by the Mussulmen; it went hand in hand (if we may be allowed the expression) with bravery, and was a part of the enco-

mium of the greatest captains.

A taste for poetry was instilled into him from his infancy by his father Moawiyah, who had married Moslem, Yezid's mother, only because she was an excellent poetes. He ordered that in his son's education, the study of poetry should not be forgot; and, unhappily for that young prince, it was the only part of education in which he succeeded: for in other respects he had none of those qualities by which a sovereign acquires the esteem and veneration of posterity. And therefore some arabian authors fay, that to make the empire of the Mussulmen flourish, it ought to be in the hands,

Tt is said by some, that his chief talent lay in making a drunken catch. of



YEZID.

of princes either pious, such as were the Hegyra 64. four first Caliphs, or liberal as Moawi-Ch. ær. 683. yah; but when it was governed by a prince who had neither piety nor generofity, such an one as Yezid was, all would be lost.

> Though Yezid had possessed ever so many virtues, yet his having permitted the city of the prophet to be plundered and profaned, would have obscured them all. That prince did not design to consider that Medina had served as a retreat to the primitive Musfulmen, and that therein were carefully preserved the precious remains of the founder both of the state and of his religion. These considerations were not sufficient to restrain his fury; and he allowed his soldiers to commit such outrages in the city, during three days, that devout Mussulmen do not scruple to say, that God dealt with him as a tyrant, and cut him off in the flower of his age, as a judgment upon him for his presumption.

> Under his Caliphate the Musfulmen conquered all Chorasan, and put the states of the prince of Samarcand under contribution. Salem, the son of Ziyad, who was then in the twenty-fourth year of his age, commanded upon that expedition.

> Yezid left several children behind him; but mention is made only of Moawiyah, the second of that name, who succeeded

him,

him, and Khaled, who did not attain the YEZID. Caliphate after his brother's abdication, be-Hegyra 64. cause he was then too young.

MOAWIYAH II.

The EIGHTH CALIPH.

SO soon as Yezid was dead, his son Moawiyan II.

Moawiyah was proclaimed Caliph at Hegyra 64.

Damascus. He was a man of so weak a Ch. ær. 683. constitution, that his life could not be much depended on. The bad example of his Moawiyah's father had in no wife influenced his educa-character. tion; and though he was the son of a man who gloried in his impiety, he on the contrary was very religious. He was of the sect of the Alkadarij, a branch of the Motazeli. Those sectaries asserted that all the actions of man depended on his free will; whereas the other Mussulmen maintained, that God, by his determinate decrees, was the immediate cause of all human actions. The Alkadarij, as well as the Motazeli, rejected that opinion, holding, that it destroyed the liberty of man, and made God the author of evil.

Though Moawiyah had by birth a right Moawiyah to the throne, and though he was placed asks council whether he on it by the unanimous consent of the peo-ought to acple, he was not dazzled by the glitter of a cept the Caccown. Before he accepted it, he was re-liphate.

folved

II.

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Hegyra 64. Ch. ær. 683.

Moawiyah solved to ask council, and know if he was fit to sustain the weight of government. He therefore sent for a venerable Mussulman, named Omar al-Meksous, who had been his master, and in whom he placed the greatest confidence. He proposed the difficulty to Omar, and asked him whether he ought to accept the Caliphate or not.

Omar, who in all probability was defirous of setting before his eyes the importance of the trust in question, and how grievous a thing it would be if he should follow his father's steps, told him, that if he found himself able to administer impartial justice to the Mussulmen, and to acquit himself of all the duties of that dignity, he ought to accept it; otherwise he could not in conscience take the burthen upon him.

However, Moawiyah accepted the crown: but from that very moment he ascended the throne, his mind was filled with reflections on the engagements he had entered into, and he was constantly employed in examining if he was able to perform them. In short, he had scarce reigned six weeks, when he came to a resolution of surrender-

ing the crown.

He abdicates

To this end he convened the chief ofthe Caliphate. ficers of the state, imparted to them his design, and acquainted them with the motives to it. He told them, that when he first entertained the thoughts of abdicating,

he

he defigned to have followed the examples Moawiyah of Abubecre and Omar, in taking measures for appointing a successor worthy to rule over them; but fearing those measures would render him in some fort accountable for the choice that should be made in consequence of them, he was resolved to make a pure and absolute resignation, and to leave the choice of a successor entirely at their disposal.

The nobles earnestly intreated him still to keep a dignity, to which he had so just a right. And on his refusal, they defired that he would at least choose a person from amongst them, whom he should judge worthy to succeed to the Caliphate; but the young prince remaining inflexibly fixed in the resolution he had taken, they were forced to desist. Moawiyah therefore made a folemn and formal abdication. As it was not possible to proceed forthwith to a new election, the Damascenes chose a regent, whose power was to continue till the appointment of a new Caliph. Their choice Dehac apfell on Dehac, the son of Kais, who forth- pointed rewith assumed the reins of government.

The family of Ommiyah were extremely irritated at this proceeding of Moawiyah. And as they supposed his abdication was owing to the advice given him by Omar al-Meksous, they wrecked their vengeance on that Mussulman, and buried him alive.

Moawiyah

The HISTORY of

MOAWIYAH II.

Hegyra 64. Ch. ær. 683.

Death of Moawiyah.

Moawiyah did not live long after he had renounced the Caliphate. He led a very retired life; having that himself up in a chamber, from whence he scarce ever stirred till he died, some say of the plague, and others of poison.

This Caliph was furnamed Abu-leilah, that is, "father of night," as well on account of his love of solitude, as of his natural weakness of constitution, which prevented him from appearing much abroad in

the day time.

Whilst that young prince, who was convinced of his inability to bear the weight of a crown, to which he was justly intitled, was taking measures to free himself from the burthen, great disturbances arose in Arabia, which did not prognosticate a quiet reign to the person that should be chosen at Damascus to succeed him.

Abdallah, the son of Zobeir, who had been proclaimed Caliph at Medina and Mecca in the days of Yezid, seemed now to be established in all the territories of the Mussulmen, Syria only excepted. And on the other hand Obeidollah, who was at the same time governor of Basorah and Cusah, was taking measures, which, though they did not seem calculated to attain the Caliphate, were yet such as must prove highly prejudical to the person that should be invested with the supreme power.

He was at Basorah, when he received Hegyra 64. advice of Yezid's death: he immediately Ch. ær. 683. mounted the pulpit, and having acquainted Obeidollah the Basorians with it, he made them a studied ledged prospeech, in which he set before them all they tector at Bahad suffered under the government of the forah. Ommiyan Caliphs. He advised them, however, not totally to shake off the yoke, but remonstrated to them, that as they were in every respect the most considerable nation in the empire, they could easily subsist independant of others, and form a separate state, till the divisions in Syria, touching the Caliphate, should be reconciled. For which purpose he advised them to choose a person duly qualified to be the protector of their state: after which, if the Mussulmen agreed upon a successor, they might acknowledge him if they thought fit; but if the choice was not agreeable to them, they might remain as they were, till one was appointed that they approved of.

The Basorians were pleased with Obeidollah's proposal, and immediately offered to chuse him protector of the kind of republick they were about to form. Obeidollah refused to accept it many times, affectedly, as may be concluded from his harangue; but complied at last, overcome by their importunity: and so soon as he had consented, the Basorians took an oath of fealty to him, protesting at the same time that the oath should be no longer binding, than till all things VOL. II.

NENT OF

Hegyra 64. things were settled, and the Syrians agreed

Ch. ær. 683. upon a Caliph.

He vainly endeavours at the same honour at Cufah.

This done, he immediately sent a deputation to Cusah to inform them of what had passed, hoping they would readily sollow the example of the Basorians. But things sell out quite otherwise,; the Cusians received the message with indignation, and insulted the chief deputy; and though he was Obeidollah's lieutenant, they threw dust in his sace, whilst he was haranguing the people.

The inhabitants of Baforah rise, and force him to retire.

This event staggered the Basorians. Having received advice of the aversion which the Cusians had shewn to Obeidollah's proposal, they repented they had so precipitately complied with it, and revoked the oath of fealty they had taken to him. Disputes ran so high, that Obeidollah, finding he could not maintain his ground in the country, resolved to make his escape, and he caused a report to be spread that he was going into Syria.

But before he departed, he seized to his own use all the money which was then laid up in the treasury of Basorah, and which amounted to sixteen millions; part of which he divided amongst his relations, and the remainder he kept to be employed in the prosecution of his designs, which however he was forced to abandon. He offered large sums of money to some of the tribes to engage them to take up arms in his behalf, but they resused it; and indeed he had rendered himself so obnoxious by his cruelties,

that

to

the ARABIANS.

that even his own relations refused to assist Hegyra 64. Ch. ær. 683.

Finding Basorah too hot for him, he departed from that city, accompanied with about one hundred persons. And it was happy for him that he tarried no longer; for the people, whom his enemies had stirred up against him, plundered his house and pursued him, but they could not overtake him.

About the time of Obeidollah's flight, Hof-Disturbances sein, general of the Syrian army, returned to about the Choice of a Damascus from the siege of Mecca. Moa-successor to wiyah, the son of Yezid, had just then abdi-Moawiyah. cated the Caliphate, and great stir was making about the choice of a person to succeed him. Hossein readily confessed, that knowing Moa-wiyah's inability, he had offered his allegiance to Abdallah, the son of Zobeir; but that he had resused to accept it: that he seemed content with having been acknow-ledged sovereign of Arabia, and shewed little concern touching what passed in Syria.

Hossein afterwards held a pretty long conference with Merwan-ebn-Hakem, and the other Ommiyans who had accompanied him to Damascus. He told them, that considering the present posture of affairs, they ought to think of settling the government in Syria, and either submit to Abdallah, who would make no scruple of accepting the Caliphate, when he should be called to it by the voice of the nation; or to some other person, able

The HISTORY of

to cope with Abdallah, who would always prove a dangerous rival.

Abdallah is excluded the Caliphate.

Hegyra 64.

Ch. ær. 683.

These remonstrances had like to have proved of the utmost advantage to Abdallah. Dehac, the son of Kais, who commanded at Damascus, was his fast friend; and even Merwan, whose vote was of no small consequence, declined in favour of Abdallah. But in the interim Obeidollah being arrived at that city, spoke with great warmth to Merwan touching the declaration he had made. He told him, it was a shame that a person of his distinction, who was at the head of the noble family of the Coraifchites, should entertain a thought of submitting to Abdallah, the open enemy to his house. These remonstrances were effectual, and they no longer thought of appointing him Caliph.

The Basorians invite him to accept of it.

But whilft these steps were taken to ruin Abdallah's interest in Syria, his affairs seemed to prosper more and more in Arabia. The slight of Obeidollah, amongst other things, was so advantageous an event, that it procured him the possession of Basorah. The inhabitants of that city were altogether in tumult and consusion, and could not agree in the choice of a governor. After having successively elected several persons to that office, and deposed them from it, they at last wrote to Abdallah to take the government upon him.

It is generally agreed that Abdallah might have attained the Caliphate, if he had acted with

with due prudence and precaution; but the Hegyra 64. report which he unwisely suffered to be propagated immediately after Yezid's death, that he had given orders to his lieutenant in Medina to exterminate the whole house of Ommiyah, induced the latter (who had before resolved to submit to him) to provide for their safety, and retire to Damascus under the guard of Hossein and his troops. This event proved highly prejudicial to Abdallah's interest, and prevented him from being univerfally recognized in the musfulman do-

However, he still enjoyed the title and pre- He is acrogatives of Caliph in a country of great ex- knowledged Caliph in fetent, and capable of forming a potent state. veral provin-He was acknowledged by the people of ces. Irak, Hejaz, Yeman, and Egypt, and had even a strong party in Syria. From whence several arabian authors have ranked him in the number of Caliphs, and place him next to Moawiyah the second.

minions.

However, I have been induced, for several reasons, not to observe the same order. In the first place, I thought it would be improper to break into the series of the Ommiyan Caliphs, by inserting one who was not of the same house. And as Abdallah was raised to the Caliphate during the reign of Yezid, and enjoyed that dignity in the days of the succeeding Caliphs, till the time of Abdalmelek, I see no reason why he should be placed after either of those Caliphs. And finally, the reign

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Hegyra 64. Ch. ær. 683.

reign of that prince may perhaps be considered only as a schism among the Mussulmen, which terminated with his life, since immediately after his death, the several provinces that had recognized him, again submitted to the Ommiyans. I therefore avoided affigning him any particular place in history, and thought it would be sufficient to give a full account of the events that related to him, as opportunity should offer, under the reigns of the Ommiyan Caliphs.

MERWAN-EBN-HAKEM,

The NINTH CALIPH.

Merwan.

Hegyra 64.

ERWAN-ebn-Hakem, was the fourth Caliph of the house of Om-Ch. ær. 683. miyah, being a collateral branch of the family of Moawiyah the first. That prince (as has been already related) being at Medina at the time of Yezid's death, left the city with great precipitation, on account of a report which was then propagated of a cruel sentence which Abdallah was said to have pronounced against the Ommiyans. He arrived at Damascus at the very juncture when they were much embarrassed by the resolution which Moawiyah the second had taken, of abdicating the throne he had-so newly possessed. The reader has already seen, that as the Syrians could not agree in opinion,

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they chose for their regent Dehac, the son Merwan. of Kais, a man famous for his abilities, his Hegyra 64. employments, and especially on account of Ch. ær. 683. the great services he had done for Moawiyah, the first founder of the Syrian empire.

But the attachment he had shewn to the Dehac defirst Caliph of the Qmmiyans was not exclares for Abtended to all those who belonged to that family. Though he loved and honoured the immediate descendants of Moawiyah, yet when the crown was about to pass to a collateral branch, he changed his sentiments, and openly declared for Abdallah-ebn-Zobeir.

Yet, spight of all his intrigues, Merwan was elected, and took the most speedy measures to reduce to obedience all such as disputed his authority. Dehac, who expected such a step on the Caliph's part, was not wanting on his side. The power he gained during his regency, had raised him a strong party, who immediately took up arms under his conduct. Merwan also levied troops, and marched out to attack his enemies, who had taken post in the plains of Damascus.

A fingle battle put an end to the dispute. He is deseat-Dehac, the author of it, was killed in the ed, and killed. action: the greatest part of his troops were cut in pieces, and the rest totally routed and dispersed. This compleat victory proved a solemn confirmation of the choice made of Merwan to be Caliph: his army proclaimed him on the field of battle, and brought him back triumphant to Damascus.

P 4

But

Merwan. Hegyra 64. Ch. ær. 683. But the pleasure he received on account of so signal a victory was soon abated, when they brought him a list of the number of his enemies that had fallen in the action. That generous and humane prince, grieved at so great an effusion of musfulman blood, could not help crying out, "Alas! that I, who am an old man, and next to nothing, should be forced to bring armies together to destroy one another!" the slaughter was indeed amazing, but in all probability not so considerable as is related by arabian authors, who say that eighty thousand men were slain in that battle.

Merwan is obliged to hold the Caliphate for Yezid's fon.

Merwan returning to Damascus after his victory, went to dwell in the palace where Moawiyah used to reside, and began to contrive the means of establishing his authority. The chief men of the state came there to confer with him on proper measures to be taken for settling the succession to the crown. It had been stipulated, previous to the election, that he should not transmit the government to his posterity, but that on his decease it should devolve of right to Khaled the son of Yezid. And the better to secure the succession, it was thought advisable that Merwan should take to wife Yezid's widow; whereby he would become a kind of guardian to the young prince: and the people entertained fo favourable an opinion of his probity, as to be persuaded that he would perform the conditions, and be true to the interest of the orphan.

orphan. Merwan, who had readily sub- MERWAN. fcribed to every article offered, previously to Hegyra 64. his attaining the throne, made some difficulty in putting on new fetters, by complying with the proposed marriage: however, his friends having urged to him that by such a refusal he would alienate the affections of the Syrians, who would thence conclude that he defigned to leave the crown to his own children, to the prejudice of Yezid's posterity, he yielded to their remonstrances, and thereby consented to hold the Caliphate only as a trustee.

However, he endeavoured to establish him- The Emesself upon the throne, in like manner as if it sians acknow-had been his absolute property. By the wan, and put death of Dehac, he was freed from a formi- Noman to dable enemy: and in a short time perished death. another, named Noman-ebn-Bashir, who was governor of Hems. That Musfulman was become a zealous adherent of Dehac; but when he received the news of his defeat, he fled away with his wife and family. The Emessians, who had at first sided with him, immediately changed their measures; and with a view to regain the Caliph's favour, pursued the fugitives, and having overtaken them, they cut off Noman's head on the spot, and brought his family back prisoners to Hems.

Merwan, being convinced he had no more Merwan subto fear from the remains of that faction, re-dues Egypt. solved to march into Egypt, where his rival Abdallah had a strong party, which was continually



Hegyra 64. Ch. ær. 683.

Merwan. continually increasing by the great dilligence of Hassan-ebn-Malek his lieutenant. He fent before him Amru-ebn-Saïd his relation, with a numerous body of troops under his command. That general executed his orders so expeditiously, and with so much success, that at the beginning of the campaign all Egypt was subdued. He drove out Abdallah's lieutenant, and shortly aftewards routed Musab, brother to Abdallah, who came against him with an army to succour Egypt. That victory brought on the total reduction of the people of that country, so that it became unnecessary for Merwan to go thither. Amru returned triumphant to Damascus, to receive the reward due to his bravery.

But whilst Egypt was withdrawing itself from Abdallah-ebn-Zobeir, in order to submit to Merwan, disturbances arose in other provinces, which did not promise a quiet

Cnorasan refuses to declare for either of the competitors to the Caliphatc.

reign to either of the competitors. The people of Chorasan, who had acknowledged Yezid, refused to side with Merwan; not that they had abated of their attachment to Musfulmanism, but in consequence of a resolution they had formed of remaining neuter, during the continuance of the disputes touching the Caliphate: insomuch that until the Mussulmen should be agreed in choice of an imam, they appointed Salem the son of Ziyad, who was the n their governor, to be regent of the country. His regency was undisturbed. Salem, who was naturally

naturally a lover of peace, carried a very Merwan. even hand between the two Caliphs: and Hegyra 64. Ch. ar 683. being folely intent on the care of governing the people with prudence and moderation, they respected him to so high a degree, that during the few years of his government, more than twenty thousand children (as

arabian writers say) were named Salem, out of pure affection to their governor.

The disturbances that arose in Arabia A revolt in were of another kind. The Cusians, who Arabia, exwere naturally of a fickle disposition, after Cusians. having by turns embraced and abandoned the party of Ali, had at last (as the reader has been already informed) compleated their treachery, by their conduct towards the unfortunate Hossein, of whose death they were the cause, by refusing the succours they had promised to send him.

When they seriously reflected how much they had been wanting, both in point of honour and duty, they were seized with a violent remorse, and began to think of making an attonement, by revenging the death of that unhappy prince on those who had been the authors of it. But before they put their designs into execution, they held many conferences and consultations, to agree on the manner of conducting so important an undertaking.

For that purpose an assembly was held of all the chief of the sect, who were venerable for their rank, years, piety, and experience;



Hegyra 64. Ch. ær. 683.

Merwan. perience; amongst whom appeared Solimanebn-Sorad one of the companions of the prophet; Mosabbib-ebn-Nahbah, Ali's most intimate friend; Abdallah-ebn-Saïd, Abdallah-ebn-Wali, and Rephaah-ebn-Shaddad. The conferences there held were a new incitement to the zeal, or rather the fury of the Cufians against the enemies of Ali. Amongst other things, several very pathetical speeches were made, which all tended to demonstrate the baseness of their proceedings in abandoning Hossein; to shew that for their unfaithful dealings towards him, they were contemned and detested by all honest Arabians; and that they could no otherwise wipe off the dishonour, but by commencing and effectually carrying on a war, at the hazard of their lives and fortunes, against the enemies of Ali, Hassan, and Hossein.

> This was pretty clearly pointing out the Ommiyans, against whom, in fact, they resolved to march forth without delay: and circular letters were sent throughout Arabia, containing their motives to the design, and fixing the number of forces and sums of money which the respective provinces were to raise and furnish for that grand expedition. In those letters were also mentioned the day and place appointed for the rendevous and muster of the troops. This enterprize, or to speak more properly, this revolt, was called "The holy war:"

a denomination which did not a little con-Merwan. tribute to augment the numbers of those Hegyra 64. that engaged in it. Arabia was all in a flame: nothing was talked of but raising of troops and money; and each man was defirous of contributing to the expence of a war, in whic it was pretended, religion

was so deeply concerned.

These circular letters were wrote by Soliman-ebn-Sorad, who was looked upon as the life of the enterprize, and the chief promoter of the league. He was also appointed general of the army. But his appointment raised great jealousy, and was strongly opposed by a famous captain named Almoktar, who in the interim arrived at Cusah.

That illustrious Mussulman, who was The history the fon of Obeidah, had distinguished him- of Almoktar. self in the army from his youth, and bore the marks of many honourable wounds, proofs of his bravery. He had always espoused the party of the Alians; however, he was accused of not having acted with becoming zeal and vigour in behalf of Haffan, during the first campaign which that Caliph made for the support of his authority: but he recovered their esteem, on account of the great pains he took to advance Hossein's interest at the time of the revolt at Cufah. He entertained at his house Muslim, who (as has been already observed) was private agent to Hollein, and he was secretly consulted on all affairs relating to that prince; but



Mervan Ficgyra 64. Un. ær. 683. but still he acted with so much precaution, that it was a long time before the g vernor suspected him of being concerned in the conspiracy. At last, Obeidollah having received some information which made him doubt of Almoktar's fidelity, questioned him at their next meeting, touching his secret practices; and the latter having returned a haughty unsatisfactory answer, the governor struck him over the face with his stick, and beat out one of his eyes; after which he he committed him to prison, where he was detained until after the death of Hossein.

Yezid, then the reigning prince, having given express orders that he should be set at liberty, Obeidollah obeyed, though with the utmost reluctance: and as he doubted not but Almoktar would seize every opportunity of revenging the injury done him, the governor informed him, that if he was found in the city after the expiration of three days, his

head should pay for it.

Almoktar made the best of his way to Hejaz, brooding in his mind the means of taking vengeance for the cruel outrage which Obeidollah had committed on his person. He came in a short time to Mecca, and offered his service to Abdallah; but to his great surprize he did not receive so cordial an answer as he expected. However, he still continued in that city, in expectation that Abdallah would restect on the matter, and give a more favourable reception to his offer. And

he often used to say freely to his friends, Merwan. "Abd llah has more occasion for me, than Hegyra 64. I have f r Abdallah."

Spight of Abdallah's great indiffence, Al- He offers his mkotar staid with him some months. But service to the finding that bdallah did not repose any con-commander fidence in him nor employ him in any con- of their forces. siderable post, he resolved to go to Cufah, as the time of the plot against the Ommiyans was in agitation. As he was informed of the situation of the affairs of Ali's party, he found they only wanted a man of their own opinion to head them. He therefore proposed to go and offer himself for that purpose, though he well knew that the Cufians had appointed Soliman to be their general. But the mean opinion he entertained of that officer, induced Almoktar to believe he should meet with no difficulty in supplanting him, and that the command would fall to him of course.

But things did not go so smoothly as Al-His contempt moktar imagined, and he met with difficul-raises him up ties and oppositions which almost made him enemies. despair of success. When he came to Cufah, he called the party together, and told them, he was come from Mahomet-ben-Hanisah*, who had commanded him to aid them with his council and with his sword.

Mahoms the son of Ali, was commonly called Ben Hanisiah, or the son of Hanisiah, who was one of Ali's wives; in order to distiguish him from the other children which Ali had by Fatima the prophet's daughter.

Hegyra 64. Ch. ær. 683.

MERWAN. The arrival of so famous a captain at first raised the spirits of the Cusians; but his conduct in regard to Soliman foon created him many enemies. He spoke contempubly, of that general, and represented him sa man unfit for military command, and who wanted both skill and experience to c siduct such an enterprize. He confessed, that he was indeed a good politician, and an excellent counsellor: in a word, that he would make a very good figure in the cabinet, but was by no means capable of giving the necessary orders at the head of an army in the heat of battle.

> Although there was a great deal of truth in the account given by Almoktar of Soliman's abilities, yet the great interest of that general prevailed, and the Alians, for the most part, supported him in his post; and the time being come for taking the field, Soliman marched for Nochailah, the place appointed for the general rendevous of the forces,

> Almoktar remained at Cufah, not doubting but Soliman would foon commit forme essential blunder, which would induce the sect to dismiss that general; and that upon the first loss they would have recourse to him to command the army.

He is accused of a defign to

But the continuance of Almoktar in the seize Cutah. city gave rise to some suspicions: whether they were well founded or n Soliman's friends took advantage of them, to propagate a report that Almoktar had a segret defign

design of forming a party to seize Cusah, Merwan. and the whole province. He was taken to c stody, and brought before the tribu-

nal of Ab lallah-ebn-Yezid, then governor of the plac, whom they would have persuaded to end Almoktar to prison bound in governor alledged, that he ought not to deprive a man of his liberty, who was only taken up on suspicion; but the accusers raised so great a clamour, and were besides so numerous, that the governor was obliged partly to comply with their will. Thus, without any other proof than a tumultuous accusation, Abdallah caused Almoktar to be imprisoned; and all he could do in his behalf was to spare him the shame and trouble of being put in irons, as his enemies had required.

During the tumult which was caused by Hegyra 65. this affair at Cufah. Soliman had put himself at the head of the troops, and proposed The ardent shortly to march in order to attack the Om-people for war miyans in Syria. But when he had reviewed abates. the army, he was filled with surprize: for it was far from being so numerous as he expected to find it. The great ardour shewn by the people to revenge the death of Hossein was all at once abated, insomuch that most of the provinces had sent no troops at all, and others had sent but a small number, in comparison of what they had engaged to provide. It appeared, by examining the rolls, that one province in particular, which had un-VOL. II. dertaken

Ch. ær. 684.

defire of the



Hegyia 65. Ch. ær. 684.

MERWAN. dertaken to furnish sixteen thousand men, 'had sent l' ut four thousand. But that wnich gave him the greatest uneafiness, the coldness and indifference of he Custans themselves, who had been the most forward in promoting the taking of arms. A considerable number of the who had appeared the most active, staid at home, either from the natural fickleness of their disposition, or through the intrigues of Almoktar, who, it was said, had drawn off ten thousand of the Cufians, and prevented them from joining Soliman.

> The general, greatly disconcerted at the smallness of the numbers, contrived an expedient which he thought could not fail of fucceeding with people of so odd and capricious a disposition, (whose fancies were eafily struck with any thing uncommon,) and of procuring him a speedy recruit. He sent messengers forthwith to Cufah, with orders for the Muezins or public cryers, to ery aloud in all the streets, and in the chief mosque,

Soliman revi-

ves it.

" Vengeance for Hossein." His orders were executed, and produced the desired effect. The cry roused up the Cufians. They, with a kind of madness, ran to arms, and with the utmost precipitation marched to the place of rendezvous. Soliman was a little encouraged t the fight of such a reinforcement: inf much that with the succours which he still expected to receive from Madayen and Basorah, he reck-

oned

oned that he should be soon in a condition of Merwan. the spiral into Syria. He had already fixed Hegyra 65. Ch. zer. 684. The pla of his operations, which were to op not temassacre of Obeidollah, whom they looked upon as the chief author of Hossein's death after which he proposed to employ his who force against the Ommiyans, in hopes of cutting them all off.

But after having waited near a month, he had the mortification to find that the troops they promised to send him would not come. This news, which was bad enough in itself, became still worse by the fatal effects it produced in his army. His troops were discouraged, and more than one thousand sol-

diers deserted:

Soliman, being apprehensive that this example would spread, resolved to put his troops upon the march, and so to keep them continually employed. In this manner he advanced to the field where Hossein was slain and buried. There he made so pathetick a speech to his army, concerning the death of Hossein, and the misfortunes of the Cufians in being accessory to it, that all the troops fell on their knees, implored god's pardon for the crime they had committed, and made a solemn vow to shed the last drop of their blood, to avenge the death of Hossein, and by that sacrifice to obtain remission from heaven for having so 1 ly abandoned the grandson of the apostle of God.

Soliman



MERWAN.

Soliman was so highly pleased with the Hegyra 65. disposition and temper of his troops that Ch. ær. 684. he resolved to merch forthwith against a he resolved to march forthwith aggi st t e enemy, notwithstanding the fri na advi e he had received from several ersons, and particularly from Abdallah-ebn-Yezid, governor of Cufah, who hav g dispassionately considered the state of affairs, sent an express to Soliman, begging him not to advance any further, and advising him even to return to Cufah, and wait for a more favourable opportunity. That governor had probably received intelligence of the numerous forces which Merwan was setting on foot; and in consequence of his information had sent to intreat Soliman not to persevere in an undertaking which must inevitably be unsuccessful, on account of the small force he had under his command.

> The general communicated the governor's letter to a council of war; but he at the same time gave them to understand he strongly suspected that the advice was given with no other view than to employ his forces in behalf of Abdallah-ebn-Zobeir, to whom the governor was a stedfast friend.

> The whole council were of the general's opinion, and he immediately wrote an answer to the governor of Cufah, in which he returned him thanks for his ind advice, ld him he could not presu e so much as barely to mention to his traops a return to Cufah; that they were resolutely bent on re-

venging

venging the death of Hossein; that the event Merwan. was in the hands of providence, and he Hegyra 65. could v no means think of restraining their a dour.

Soliman began his march immediately Soliman deafter the eparture of the courier, and poses both advanced with his army to Mesopotamia. He halted in the plains of Ainwerdah to perform a public ceremony, the celebration of which was the cause of his destruction. He had already proposed to his officers and soldiers to depose the two Caliphs Merwan and Abdallah-ebn-Zobeir, and to place one of Ali's descendants on the throne. The proposal having been accepted with the loudest acclamations, and the most extravagant marks of approbation, he deferred puting it in execution till he had reached the enemy's territories; the plains of Ainwerdah seemed to him a place proper for his purpose. He therefore caused the troops to encamp, and, regardless of those precautions which prudence required him to take, more especially as he had entered an enemy's country, his whole thoughts were employed on the pompous preparations for a ridiculous ceremony, which was attended with a most fatal catastrophe.

The Syrian army came almost unexpec-He is surpritedly in sight. Obeidollah, who well knew zed, and deteated by the that his dea h was to be the first step to rds Syrian army. executing the bloody design formed again step to the Ommiyans, had obtained of Merwan the

Hegyra 65. Ch. ær. 684.

MERWAN. command of his forces: and the Caliph thought he might safely trust his defense in the hands of a man who had so great rasons

not to spare his enemy.

Obeidollah appearing therefore at the head of his army, at the very time Solin an's troops were in the midst of their mirt and jollity, without observing the least order or discipline, the Syrians were enabled to attack them to great advantage. Though the Arabians were thus surprized, they found means to draw up in battalia, and face their enemies; but they could not long stand their ground against troops who improved their first advantage, The Syrians cut Soliman's troops in pieces; that general himself fell in the action; and none of his army escaped, but such as saved themselves by the great fleetness of their horses.

Merwan causes his son to be ackknowledged his successor.

From the time Merwan had entrusted Obeidollah with the command of the Syrian troops, that Caliph, who relied on the courage and activity of his general, entertained a defign of strengthening his interest in Damascus, and securing the advancement of his family; and though he had taken an oath on his accession to the Caliphate to transmit the crown on his death to Khaled, the son of Yezid, yet he now, without scruple, resolved to cause his own son, Abdolmelik, to be proclaimed his lawful successor.

By means of great presents, and of still greater promises, he gained the consent of the

the chief nobility of Damascus; and they Merwan. brought over the people, so that he secured the this to his son. Khaled was no sooner informed of the design, than he complained to the Calien, and with the greatest warmth reproached him for his conduct in the presence of the whole court. This so stirred up Merwan's indignation, that he called him bastard. Khaled, touched to the quick at the affront, went and informed his mother of what had passed, and she advised him to take no surther notice of it, assuring him that in a short time they should be both sufficiently revenged of Merwan for his gross insults.

And in fact that Caliph did not long fur-Death of the vive. Some say he was poisoned; others re-Caliph. late, that Merwan being indisposed one day, and having fallen into a sound sleep, his wife laid a pillow upon his face, and sat on it till

he was dead.

Merwan reigned about ten months. His enemies commonly called him by the name of Ebn-Tarid, that is fon of the expelled, because Mahomet had banished his father Hakem for divulging a secret. He continued in exile during the reigns of Abubecre and Omar, and his being recalled was objected to Othman as a great crime, insomuch as he thereby took upon him to reverse a sentence which the prophet had pronounced.



ABDOLMELIK.

The TENTH CALIPH.

ABDOLME-LIK. Hegyra 65. Ch. ær. 684. Abdolmelik's indifference for the Caliphate.

BDOLMELIK, th fon of Merwan, was raised to the throne immediately after his father's death, and was also inaugurated to the government of Syria and Egypt. Authors relate that when he received the news of his proclamation, he was sitting with the Koran on his lap. He received the news with great tranquillity, and even with a kind of indifference. That prince was sensible, that the days of peace and retirement were at an end, and that, immersed in the hurry of affairs which always attend a crown, he could no longer hope to enjoy his beloved amusements, reading and meditation. "Divine book," cried he folding up the Koran, and laying it aside, " I must now take my leave of thee."

He institutes
the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, instead
of that to
Mecca.

So foon as he had taken possession of the throne, he took proper measures to secure his power, and subdue the rebels, who were still formidable, especially in Arabia, where Abadllah-ebn-Zobeir held out against him, and used his utmost endeavours to maintain his power. Abdolmelik, reslecting that the pilg ages to Mecca must be p judical to his interest, as they surnished an opportunity to his rival of making proselites to his party; and

and as people would be insensibly accus- Abdolmetomed o see Abdallah perform the functions Hegyra 65, of a so eign, he resolved to prohibit Ch. ær. 684. those pilgrimages. But as it might prove of dangerous consequence totally to abolish a religious custom, without substituting to it another, capable of amusing the people, he instituted the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and caused the chief mosque to be considerably enlarged, that it might contain a more numerous congregation. Instead of the black stone which the Mussulmen used to go with great devotion to kiss in the Caabah, at Mecca, the Caliph caused Jacob's stone * to be placed in the mosque at Jerusalem. This expedient succeeded to his utmost wish, and the Syrian Mussulmen soon went in crowds to the pilgrimage of Jerusalem, which was so much the more convenient, as the city was at no great distance from them. Besides, as this exercise of devotion had novelty to recommend it, the people performed it with a kind of enthusiastic fervency, and shewed at least as much zeal in going to kifs Jacob's stone, as they had

formerly done to kiss the black stone.

Abdolmelik at the same time raised a body of troops, and made other due preparations, as well to oppose the ambitious designs of A dallah, who was still endeavouring to incre e his power, as to bass?

^{*} See the life of Omar, vol. I. p. 224.

ABDOLME-LIK.

Hegyra 65. Ch. ær. 684.

Almoktar is fet at liberty. attempts of Almoktar who had set all Arabia in a flame, with a view to aven e the Alians, and exterminate their en

Almoktar, who had been imprisoned at the request of Soliman's friends, was released so soon as the defeat and death of that general were publickly known. The moment he was at liberty, he resumed his former designs, and put himself at the head of the Alians in order to hunt out all such as had been any way accessary to the death of Hossein.

He fearches after those concerned in Hossein's death.

This disquisition was made with so much heat and fury, that many persons lost their lives who had no share in the death of that prince. They did not stand upon proof; suspicion alone was a sufficient foundation for pronouncing the sentence of death.

The chief victims of that bloody expedition were Shamer, who was said to have let fly the first arrow at Hossein; Caulah, who had carried his head to Obeidollah, and Amer, who commanded the army sent against that prince. The two sons of Amer also perished on that occasion, he caused their heads to be struck off, and sent them to Mahomet-ben-Hanifiah, then chief of Ali's family.

Hegyra 66.

He treated with sill greater ruelty Adi, Ch. zr. 685. the fon of Hathem, who was accused of g plundered Hossein on the field of battle: Almoktar caused him to be flead alive. These bloody executions lasted some time

time, and all that could be found to have ABDOLME-LIK. contributed to the death of Hossein, were Hegyra 66. destroy d with variety of torments. Ch. ær 685.

But Almoktar was obliged to suspend his executions, in order to provide for his own safety. He had two powerful enemies to deal with, of whom he had equal reason to be afraid. He was threatened by Abdallah who presided in Mecca; and he also well knew that the Caliph had sent out a body of Syrian troops, which were on the point of entering Arabia. They were indeed chiefly destined to attack Abdallah; but there was great reason to fear they would first murch into Irak, to destroy the party of the Alians, so formidable to the Caliphs of Syria.

In that juncture Almoktar resolved on Almoktar ofwriting a letter to Abdallah, in hopes of fers hisaffifraising a friend who might act in concert dallah, who with him against Abdolmelik. He therefore refuses it. acquainted Abdallah of his having received advice that the Caliph had sent a body of troops to besiege him in Mecca, and assured him that he was ready to march forthwith to his assistance. Abdallah, who had great reason to suspect Almoktar, answered, that he was ready to accept his offer; but it must be on condition, nevertheless, that he would cause his

whole army to acknowledge him as Caliph. Almoktai who had no thoughts of com- He fends a plying with such a condition, resolved to act body of openly against Abdallah, and to endeavout surprize him. To which intent he sent a lah.

troops to fur-4 bdal-

body

LIK. Hegyra 66. Ch. ær. 685. body of troops to Medina, under the command of Serjabil, to whom he gave the necessary orders for carrying his design into execution.

Abdallah having received advice of the step taken by Almoktar, sent also a body of forces to Medina, under the command of Abbas-ebn-Sahel, whom he gave orders closely to watch Almoktar's motions, and to strive to discover his design: to receive his troops in case they appeared ready and willing to serve him against the Syrians, but to destroy them, if he suspected they entertained the least treacherous designs.

Conference between the commanders of the two armies.

Abbas having marched into the neighbourhood of Medina, met Serjabil, who was also approaching to that city. He had a conference with him, which proved to his satisfaction; for having asked him if he did not own himself to be Abdallah's subject, Serjabil readily answered in the affirmative. But Abbas having proposed to him to join their troops, and march together to Dilkroa, (whither Abdallah had ordered his general to advance to give battle to Abdolmelik's army) Serjabil shewed by his answer that he had not been sincere in acknowledging Abdallah: he declared that his orders were to march only to Medina, and therefore he would not go to any other place, without fresh instructions from Almoktar.

By this refusal of complance, Abbas violently suspected how the matter was; ho resolved

resolved to destroy Serjabil, and overthrow Abdolmethis troops; however, he concealed his design, Hegyra 66. and pretending not to be surprized at his an-Ch. ær. 685. swer, he told him, he was much in the right to obey his orders, but that for his own part he must march up to Abdolmelik's army so soon as his troops were a little refreshed.

In the mean time Serjabil was greatly Abbas fur-distressed for want of provisions, and Abbas prizes Sergenerously sent him as much as he wanted. and cuts them Plenty being thus suddenly restored to the in pieces. soldiers, who had been almost starved during their march, they forthwith left their ranks, and ran backwards and forwards for water and other things necessary to dress their

provisions.

Abbas perceiving the disorder they were in, seized the opportunity of striking the intended blow. He fell suddenly on Serjabil's men, and made a horrid slaughter of them. The general did all in his power to rally and face the enemy; but he was killed on the spot, and all that were about him were cut in pieces. However, Abbas restrained his men in the heat of the pursuit, and gave quarter to a great number of Serjabil's soldiers, whom he afterwards set at liberty.

When Almoktar heard the news of this terrible deteat, he dispatched forthwith a messenger to Mahomet-ben-Hanisiah, who was then at Mecca. He acquainted he with the disaster that had happened, and

ABDOLME-

Hegyra 66. Ch. ær. 685. told him that as this loss particularly affected the Alians, whose chief he was, so he would enable him speedily to repair it, if he would put himself at the head of a numerous army, which the Cusians had promised to send in a very short time.

Mahomet refuses to prosecute his
claim to the
Caliphate.

Mahomet was umnoved at Almoktar's offers. He led a quiet inoffensive life at Mecca with the rest of the Alians his kinsmen; and so far were they from raising any disturbance, that they always persuaded their friends to peace. Mahomet thanked him for the zeal and affection he shewed to his family; but at the same time assured him he had not the least intention of having recourse to arms; that he left the event to God, and until it should please the divine providence to produce something in his favour, he should continue to do that which was good, and eschew that which was evil; that he advised him to do the same, and particularly to abstain from shedding blood.

Almoktar, who expected a very different kind of answer, was greatly perplexed when Mahomet had acquainted him with his resolutions. He did not think fit to communicate to the Cusians the letter he had received; on the contrary he told them, that Mahomet had commanded him to do that which is right, and reject insidelity and peousness. He therefore continued to act of his own authority in an Ifair in which he was disclaimed by the person who was chiefly

chiefly concerned; and he affembled a great Abdolms-body of malcontents, who readily joined in raifing disturbances under pretence of re-Chr. ær. 685. venging the death of Hossein, and restoring the Alians to the throne.

Though Abdallah was thoroughly acquainted with the dispositions of Mahomet and his causes Mahomet and well knew they had no share in his family to the troubles which then reigned in Arabia, be seized. he yet thought himself obliged, in point of policy, to sacrifice them for the sake of his own safety. They were indeed quiet themselves; but on pretence of their right and title, plots were continually forming by ambitious and turbulent men: he therefore cruelly resolved to destroy them.

He caused Mahomet-ben-Hanisiah and his family, with about seventeen of the principal Cusians, to be seized, and imprisoned in a certain inclosure, where stood the samous well of Zemzem *. He required them to acknowledge him as Caliph within a certain limited time; and threatened, that in case of their refusal, he would put them to death, and burn their bodies to ashes, so as not the least mark might remain, capable of surnishing a pretext for suture commotions.

These men ces were not capable of shaking the constancy of the Alians. Though Ma-

homet-

The Mahometans alledge, that the Zemzem is on the same spot with the spring which the angel discovered to Hazer, when she went into the desert with her son Ishmael.

LIK. Hegyra 66. Ch. ær. 685.

ABDOLME-homet-ben-Hanisiah had so much to fear from the fury of Abdallah, yet he preserved his usual tranquillity of mind; and patiently resigning himself to the will of providence, he left the event to heaven. But it was not so with some of his fellow prisoners; they found means to elude the vigilance of the guards, and wrote a letter to Almoktar, in which they acquainted him of their dangerous fituation.

Almoktar fends out troops to release them.

That captain instantly took measures to fet them at liberty, and he ordered the troops he sent out for that purpose to march in small detachments one after the other, as well to avoid suspicion, as on account of the conveniency of the soldiers on their route. At the head of these detachments he placed an officer of distinction called Abu-aljodali, who pressed on with the utmost speed towards Mecca, having with him only seventy horse; but they were all men of approved valour. When he was affured that the several bodies had reached the places appointed for them to halt, and that they could easily and speedily join him on the first signal, he advanced to attack the inclosure of the Zemzem, where the Alians were kept prisoners.

And they arrived there very opportunely, for the time limited by the of Zobeir was almost expired. Abdallah had received intelligence that a body of troops were preparing to force the inclosure of the Zemzem; but when he was acquainted with the small-

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the ARABIANS.

ness of their numbers, he despised them; ABDOLME-and thought the guard would be sufficient to repulse them. And they behaved very re-Ch. ær. 685. solutely, insomuch that Aljodali seigned a retreat, and came to the place where he could give the appointed signal to the other detachments who lay there in ambuscade. The whole body having joined their commander, Aljodali made a fresh attack, and fell on so suriously, that the guard could not withstand it. He was on the point of entering the inclosure of the Zemzem, but Mahomet ran out and entreated him not to suffer so sacred a place to be polluted with Mussulman blood on his account.

In the mean time Abdallah arriving to suf-Abdallah's tain the guard, threatened Aljodali that if troops are dehe did not retire with his troops, he would he is taken instantly cut them in pieces. But Aljodali, prisoner. slushed with his first advantage, boldly answered, that if all the prisoners in the Zemzem were not forthwith released, he would fall on the Meccans, and destroy them to a man. And Abdallah not seeming disposed to comply, the order for the attack was given; his troops were deseated, and he himself was taken prisoner.

The Mectans having fallied out in defence Abdallah and of Abdallah in the combat had like to have Mahomet are been renewed with greater fury than before, when Mahomet-ben-Hanisiah interposed, and by means of gentle intreaties, at last prevailed on the generals to restrain the troops:

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ABDOLME-LIK.

Hegyra 66. Ch. ær. 685.

and the tumult being a little appeared, they held a conference, and entered into an accommodation; in consequence of which Abdallah was set at liberty, and Mahomet with his family and friends were permitted to depart from Mecca.

Almoktar the army of Abdolmelik.

Whilst Almoktar; by the assistance of his troops against generals, was thus extricating the Alians from the difficulties and dangers they laboured under, he was himself greatly perplexed by the arrival of Abdolmelik's army, which was making forced marches towards Cufah, under the command of Obeidollah.

However, far from being discouraged at fight of the impending danger, he was animated the more, and even infused a portion of his spirit into the Cusians, who, with the utmost ardour, took up arms against him, whom they looked upon to be the murderer of Hossein. Almoktar appointed Ibrahim ben-Alashtar to be their general, and to prevent Obeidollah from advancing to Cufah, he ordered Ibrahim to march with all speed, and to give him battle.

The Syrians are defeated.

His orders were executed with the utmost success. Ibrahim came up with Obeidollah in the plains at some distance from Cufah, and brought on an action, in which the Cufians performed prodigies of lour. The Syrian troops, unable to withstand such furious attacks, were totally routed: a great number fell in the field of battle, and were killed in the pursuit, and a still greater number perished

in attempting to ford a river. Obeidollah Abbolmswas taken prisoner during the heat of the Hegyra 66. action, and was soon doomed to die. They Ch. ær. 685. dealt out to him the same measure as he had dealt to Hossein; they cut off his head on Obeidollah is the field of battle, and forthwith sent it to beheaded. Almoktar, who was then at the castle of Cufah. Thus fell that implacable enemy of the Alians, who, as well on account of his enthusiastic notions in religion, as of his cruel dealings, was held in utter detestation by all such as had the least regard to the memory of Hossein.

The death of Obeidollah was not suffi- Hegyra 67. cient to satisfy the vengeful designs of Almoktar against the enemies of the house of Almoktar Ali: he commanded a fresh search to be dignation of made in Cufah and the adjacent places, and the Cufians wherever any of them were discovered, he by his cruelput them to death without mercy. The people highly complained of these barbarities, and being enraged at the fight of so much bloodshed, the same Cusians who had marched under his colours with a courage bordering on frenzy, were the first to complain of his tyranny and barbarity.

Musab-ebn-Zobeir having been sent by They prevail his brother Abdallah to Basorah, the Cusians on Musab to applied to him for affistance and redress. take up arms Musab, who was well pleased to find an opportunity of repaying the injuries which Almoktar had done to Abdallah, promised that he would march out against him so R 2

Ch. ær. 686.

foon

LIK.

Hegyra 67. Ch. ær. 686.

Appointed foon as he could affemble a body of forces fufficient for that undertaking.

> In consequence of this resolution he wrote to Mohalleb, who was his lieutenant over Persia, commanding him to come forthwith and join him with supplies of men and money; and Mohalleb obeying the summons, they joined their forces and marched towards Cufah.

Almoktar is defeated.

Almoktar was no fooner informed of that step, than he marched out of the city at the head of his forces, flattering himself that he should get the better of Musab with the same ease as he had subdued Obeidollah; but things took a different turn. The two armies met, and a bloody action enfued, in which both parties fought not only with the utmost bravery, but even with a kind of obstinate fury. The victory was long doubtful; but at last Almoktar's troops gave ground, and were thrown into disorder. That general used his utmost efforts to rally them, but without success: and finding it impossible longer to make head against an enemy, whose courage seemed to increase in proportion to the advantages they gained, he retreated with his best troops into the castle of Cufah.

He is besieged in the castle killed in an attack.

Musab pursued him, and laid siege to the of Cufah, and place. Almoktar, by his valous and activity, animated his soldiers, who made a most gallant defence. Even the want of provisions did not abate their courage, and they sustained famine, and resisted the attacks of the enemy,

with

with equal resolution. But at last Almoktar Abdolme-having been killed in an attack, his loss drew Hegyra 67. on that of the place, and the garrison sur-Ch. ær. 686 rendered at discretion.

Musab made a cruel use of his victory; he put the whole garrison, which amounted to about seven thousand men, to the sword.

But this piece of vengeance was far from equalling the cruelties executed by Almoktar on all such as he knew or suspected to be enemies to the house of Ali. He never pardoned one of them; and authors affert, that he destroyed more than sifty thousand men, without reckoning such as were slain in the several battles he fought. He was killed in the 67th year of the Hegyra, and was then 67 years old.

The defeat of Almoktar would have been a lucky event for Abdolmelik, had not his rival Abdallah been the occasion of it. For though by that victory they were both freed from a very enterprizing foe, yet it was of infinitely greater advantage to Abdallah, who having thus got rid of such an enemy, was in a much better condition of extending his power in Arabia, and even of making attempts beyond the frontiers of that province.

Abdolmelik, therefore, having no other Hegyra 68. means left but to join all his forces in order Ch. ær. 68-to subdue so potent a competitor, made the Famine in utmost preparations for marching into Arabia; Syria. but his designs were rendered abortive by a

terrible famine which then raged in Syria:

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AENI OF

ABDOLME-

Hegyra 68 Ch. ær. 687.

and the distempers which usually attend it carried off so great a number of men, that Abdolmelik was not in a condition, at least during that year, of engaging in any considerable enterprize.

Hegyra 69. Ch.ær. 688.

Amru revolts from the Caliph.

The next year the Caliph put himself at the head of his troops, with a design to attack Abdallah's army, which was still commanded by Musab his brother, the conqueror of Almoktar. When Abdolmelik departed from Damascus, he appointed Amru the son of Saïd to be governor of that capital; but so soon as the Caliph was marched to a considerable distance, Amru began to cabal, and formed a strong party, by means of which he made himself master of that city.

The insurrection is suppressed.

So foon as Abdolmelik received advice of this treasonable act, he returned to Damascus, and at his arrival faw to how high a pitch Amru had carried his disobedience. That rebel appeared at the head of a body of troops ready to oppose the Caliph. And the latter preparing to reduce him by force, the Damascenes were on the point of cutting each others throats, but the women ran out with their children in their arms, and throwing themselves between the contending parties, with loud cries earnestly supplicated both the Caliph and Amru not to shed the blood of Mussulmen, but rather to unite in opposing the common enemies of the nation. Amru, being moved both at their cries and remonstrances, and having also reflected on the rashness

rashness of his undertaking, consented to Abdolmes lay down his arms: and some Syrian lords Hegyra 69. having undertaken to suppress the insurrection, Ch. ær. 688. Abdolmelik consented to an accommodation, without seeming to require the least reparation for the outrage which Amru had committed against him.

But standing in competition for a crown is Treachery of a crime never to be forgiven; and in a few the Caliph todays Abdolmelik sent for Amru, saying, he wards Amru. had something to communicate to him. At the time he received the message, he was in company of his wife and a few friends, who dissuaded him from trusting himself in the Caliph's hands. But he would not listen to their advice; he even refused to take any weapon with him, or even to be accompanied by any guard: but having stumbled as he went out at the door of his house, he thought it was a bad omen; he therefore returned, girt on his sword, and put on private armour, and he also consented that about one hundred of his friends should attend him to Abdolmelik's house, which they performed accordingly.

When he had passed the first gate of the palace, it shut upon his men, and none permitted to go in with him, but a young domestick. He certainly had great reason to consider this event as a much more sinister omen than his having stumbled at the door of his house; however, it is not said that he took



ABDOLME-LIK.

Hegyra 69. Ch. ar. 688. any notice of it: he went on, and entered the

Caliph's apartment.

That prince gave him a most gracious reception; he placed Amru on the same couch whereon he sat himself, and spoke to him with great civility and seeming cordiality. After a pretty long conversation, he ordered one of his servants to take off Amru's sword, and he seeming unwilling to part with it; "What," said Abdolmelik to Amru, "Do you so wrongfully suspect me as to sit in my presence with your sword on, and especially when you see I am unarmed?"

Amru seemed a little disconcerted at these words of the Caliph, however he complied, and gave up his sword. The next moment Abdolmelik turning towards him, and viewing him with great disdain, told him, that when he was first informed of his revolt, he had made an oath, that if he ever got him into his power, he would put him in chains. In vain did Amru beseech the Caliph to consider that he had voluntarily put himself into his hands, and that so unreserved a conduct feemed to entitle him to be treated with more humanity: but Abdolmelik drew the fetters from under his cushion, and caufed them to be fixed on his hands and feet.

The Caliph, not content with the mortifying condition to which he had reduced to famous a captain as Amru, infulted him still farther by blows, and dragged him to violently

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violently against a couch, that he beat out Abdolmetwo of his fore teeth, which fell on the Hegyra 69. ground. Some authors affert, that the Caliph Ch. ar. 688. taking up the two teeth in his hand, and shewing them to Amru, said to him, " I am sure, from what has happened, that there will never be a fincere reconcilation between us." From that moment he resolved to strike his head off, and the muezin having at the same time called to evening prayer, the Caliph went to the mosque, and left the execution of Amru to his brother Abdolaziz, the fon of Merwan.

Abdolaziz was preparing to execute the base office he was appointed to perform, but Amru seeing him approach with his drawn fword, told him with great mildness, that he hoped he would not dishonour himself by committing so odious an action, and entreated him to refer the perpetration of it to some other person, who was not so nearly related to him. Abdolaziz was so moved at this representation, and the intended fact appeared to his imagination in such odious colours, that he threw away his sword, and left the room.

When Abdolmelik returned from the Amru is kilmosque, he was surprized to find Amru still led by the alive. He therefore resolved to be the ex- Caliph. ecutioner of his own sentence; he called for a lance, and therewith struck his enemy a violent blow, but it did not penetrate He repeated the st ke but without effect, for Amru

ABDOLME-LIK. Hegyra 69. Ch. ær. 688.

Amru had a coat of mail under his garment; which Abdolmelik perceiving, he faid with a malignant smile; "I see, cousin, you come well prepared!" He then called for his sword, and having commanded Amru to be thrown on his back, he killed him with his own hand.

But the Caliph was at the same instant seized with such a trembling, that he fell on the body of Amru unable to rise again. His servants soon came to his affistance, and laid him upon his couch, where he continued some time before he could recover himself.

The death of Amru causes a sedition.

Whilst these things were passing in the palace, a disturbance arose abroad on account of Amru. It was observed that he did not attend the Caliph to prayers. In a short time their suspicions increased; and it was at last rumoured that the Caliph had either killed him, or kept him prisoner.

Upon this, John, Amru's brother, took with him some of his friends, and a considerable number of slaves, and went at their head to the palace to demand his brother. Being denied entrance, he broke open the gates, and killed several of the guards. The Caliph soon assembled men enough to repulse the mutineers, but that it might be done with less danger, he caused Amru's head to be thrown out of the window, to satisfy them that all their efforts to save that Mussulman would be useless. He also ordered some of his people to throw out plenty of money, to amuse

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amuse and employ the slaves; and in the mean time his guards beat off John and his Hegyra 69. friends, who pressing on, and killing and Ch. ær. 688. wounding all they met, were attempting to force their way into the interior part of the palace. In this rencounter, John was taken prisoner, and sentenced to have his head struck off on the spot. But Abdolaziz entreated the Caliph to defer the execution, that he might not be reproached with having in the same day put to death two of his cousins

who were of the Ommiyan family. The Caliph yielded to his brother's intreaty, and sent John to prison, together with such of his friends as they had seized, for being concerned in the infurrection. They continued in confinement about a month, at which time the Caliph held a council to decide their fate. He was for putting them to death; but the major part of the council having represented to him, that those people being almost all his near relations, it would be better to give them their liberty, on condition, however, that they should quit Damascus. This advice took place; the Caliph banished John and his friends, without appointing any place of exile: he permitted them to go where they thought fit, even to Musab-ebn-Zobeir his enemy, but they were at the same time informed, that if they bore arms in Musab's service, and should happen to be taken prisoners, they would be treated as rebels.

John

ABDOLME-LIK. Hegyra 69.

John and his friends, little expecting to be treated so mercifully, with great joy com-Ch. ær. 688. plied with the sentence of banishment, and retired into Irak to Musab-ebn-Zobeir, who was still in arms to support the rights of his brother Abdallah against the attempts of Abdolmelik.

Abdolmelik

Hegyra 70. That Caliph endeavoured to establish his Ch. ær. 689 power in Arabia, notwithstanding the great credit and interest which the two sons of Greeks With the Zobeir had gained in that province, which proved great obstacles to his design. To this intent he resolved to negociate a treaty of accommodation with the Greeks, who had made an incursion into Syria. Abdolmelik, not being able to face them, and at the same time effectually continue the war in Arabia, chose to treat with the grecian emperor, who consented to retire, in consideration of the sum of fifty thousand ducats, which the Caliph agreed to pay him yearly.

But this accommodation was far from being easily brought about, almost all the whole 70th year of the Hegyra being employed in concluding it. So soon as that important affair was ended, Abdolmelik, having no more to fear from the Greeks, was solely employed in preparations for the war in Arabia, which however he could not pro-

secute till the 71st year of the Hegyra.

Hegyra 71. Ch. ær. 690.

As he had formed a resolution of marching in person, and heading his troops, he put to death all those that had been concerned

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in the revolt with Amru. In a short time Abdolmehe was ready to begin his march, but the Hegyra 71.

Syrian nobility did not approve of his engag- Ch. ar. 690. ing in this expedition, and strongly opposed He makes it; though they at the same time agreed it preparations was absolutely necessary the war should be for marching carried on in Arabia. They wisely remon- against Abstrated to him, that it was to be feared many malecontents were still left, who might take advantage of his absence to raise disturbances in the capital. Besides, as the event of war was very uncertain, they urged the great grief he must feel in case he should be defeated; and to what danger the Ommiyans in general would be exposed, if he should be killed or made prisoner.

To this the Caliph answered, that though their reasons were very strong, yet he could not follow their advice, fince the war in Arabia must be managed in a particular kind of manner. He obligingly told them, that if no more had been necessary than to place at the head of the army a general of confummate bravery and experience, he should have met with no difficulty in finding many fuch in Syria, and he would then with great pleasure have yielded to their request: but added he, in order to attack Musab with fuccess, arms and military skill alone will not suffice; cunning, artifice, and subtilty must be put in practice; in which respect I cannot well rely on any other person, and therefore my presence is absolutely necessary, for I shall



ABDOLME LIK. Hegyra -1.

thall then see all that passes with my own eyes, and shall be able to make the most of all Ch ar. 690. advantages that offer.

Abdolmelik therefore shortly began his march to join the main body of his army, at the place of general rendezvous. He had fent before him one of his captains, named Khaled-ebn-Asid, and other emissaries, to Baforah, with orders to endeavour to form a party there, and bring over to his interest some of Musab's chief friends. He had in the mean time wrote several letters to the leading men, and particularly to Ibrahim-ben-Alashtar, full of large promises in case they would join him; but Ibrahim remained faithful to Musab. He even delivered to him the Caliph's letter sealed up, for he had not deigned to open it, not doubting but that it contained proposals which would not quadrate with his way of thinking; and indeed Abdolmelik promised him no less than the government of Irak, if he would come over to his party.

The Caliph meets the enemy, and defeats them.

Abdolmelik received no answer from Ibrahim; but he received advice that Musab was making hafty marches towards him, with intent to give him battle. The Caliph went out against him with the greater confidence, as he was at the same time informed that Omar-ebn-Abdallah, and Mohalleb were not then with Musab. Abdolmelik dreaded the presence of those two officers, who were men of great courage and conduct. When he found therefore that they were absent,

absent, he said to his generals, "I think I Abdolmemay depend upon gaining the victory, as Hegyra 71. Musab will have nobody to help him." Ch. ær. 690.

The two armies joined battle at a place called Masken, and the action began almost as soon as they arrived there. Ibrahim-ebn-Alashtar, Musab's faithful friend, gave the first charge on the Syrians, and sought with great bravery; but he was repulsed by Mahomet-ebn-Haroun, an adversary of equal bravery. Ibrahim renewed the attack and did wonders, and his valour at last proved fatal to him; for having exposed himself with the utmost intrepidity, he was killed

on the spot.

The loss of the general brought on the destruction of Musab's army; the horse took to flight, the Irakians abandoned him, so that a total rout seemed inevitable. Musab amazed to find himself so deserted, could not tell what was the cause of his misfortune: but he no longer doubted when he heard that Ihrahim was killed. He cried out in a fit of despair, "O Ibrahim! but there is no Ibrahimfor me to day!" He strove however to conceal his grief, and used his utmost efforts to encourage and rally his troops. Perceiving his forlorn condition, he was desirous of faving his fon Isfa from the danger. Isfa, though but fifteen years old, had behaved with all the bravery of a veteran. Musab persuaded him to go to Mecca with the utmost speed, and acquaint his uncle Abdallah256

The HISTORY of

LIK. Hegyra 71. Ch. ær. 690.

ABDOLME- lah-ebn-Zobeir with the perfidiousness of the Irakians; but Issa would not leave him. That young Musfulman advised his father to attempt a retreat to Basorah, in the best order he could, and remonstrated to him that it was the most likely expedient for retrieving his losses, which would be impossible, should he, in the present situation of affairs, obstinately persist in making head against the enemy: but Musab, who looked upon a retreat to be dishonourable, answered him, " No, my son, it shall never be said amongst the Coreish, that I took a step which so nearly resembles a flight." He therefore returned to the charge with fuch of his troops as had the courage to follow him; and his son Isla threw himself into the thickest of the battle, to conquer, or rather to die with his father.

> It is said that during the engagement Abdolmelik (who highly honoured and esteemed his enemy, on account of the gallant resistance he made) sent to Musab, and offered quarter to him, and the remains of his troops, if he would surrender. But Musab, though reduced to the last extremity, boldly answered, "That such men as he did not use to quit the field, till they were conquerors or vanquished." The battle was therefore continued, but it was of no long continuance. Musab fell in this last attempt, his son having been first slain before his eyes. The remains of his troops were soon dispers

ed, and the Caliph gained as compleat a ABDOLME?

victory as he could wish.

So foon as this battle was over, Cufah Ch. ær. 690. opened its gates to the conqueror, and all The province Caliph fignalized his entrance into the capi-mits to the tal by acts of clemency and generofity. He pardoned John, (Amru's brother) though he merited death for having joined Musab, after he had been set at liberty by Abdolmelik. John, out of gratitude, took the oath of allegiance to the Caliph, and heartily engaged in his service.

The Caliph having been informed of the great straits to which the Cufians were reduced, he brought a great quantity of provisions with him, which he caused to be distributed amongst the people. He also made a splendid entertainment at the castle of Cufah, to which he invited the chief officers and persons of note in the city. At this time and place Musab's head was brought to the Caliph by a Syrian foldier, the man who had killed that general in the late engagement. Abdolmelik offered him one thousand ducats as a reward; but the soldier (with a greatness of soul uncommon .amongst men of his rank) refused the gift, faying, "That he did not kill Musab in hopes of a reward, but to revenge his own particular quarrel."

When Musab's head was brought to the Supersitie to castle, an observation was made by an old Abdolmelik.

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officer,

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Hegyra 71. Ch. ar. 690. officer then present amongst others, which greatly moved the Caliph. He said, he very well remembred that was the third head which had been brought thither. That he had seen the head of Hossein presented to Obeidollah, Obeidollah's to Almoktar, and the head of Musab to Abdolmelik. Though no reslections were made on this observation, it sunk deep into the Caliph's mind: he looked on it as a presage to some missortune ready to befal him in that place, and in order to avert the ill omen, he not only departed from the castle, but commanded it to be forthwith demolished.

Abdallah harangues the Meccans on the death of Musab.

The news of Musab's death having soon reached Mecca, Abdallah-ebn-Zobeir, his brother, (who greatly deplored his loss) made a speech on the occasion to the people of that city. In this harangue he highly commended Zobeir their father, and set before them the virtues, piety, and great atchievements of that illustrious Mussulman. He concluded his discourse in a manner likely to prejudice the Meccans in his favour. After having exaggerated the base and perfidious dealings of the Irakians, and in particular of the men of Cufah, he, by way of contrast, expatiated on the noble and unshaken fidelity of the inhabitants of Mecca, who had fought with so great perseverance in defence of the truth. He affured them he should always entertain a grateful sense of their generous dealings with him; and as it

was probable that the Syrian troops would Abdolmesoon lay siege to Mecca, he voued first if Hegyra 71. he could not repulse them, he would lose Chr. 21. 690. his life at the head of his beloved Meccans.

But whilst these people were daily giving fresh proofs of their attachment to Abdad in, Abdolmelik's party was gaining strongth in the other parts of Arabia. So soon as Mohalleb, who was Musab's lieutenant, heard of his general's death, he came and took the oath of allegiance to the Caliph, and the submission of that officer proved a very valuable acquisition to him.

That captain was then employed in quel- The Azaraling the disorders committed by the Azara- kites revolt. kites in several provinces of Arabia. The Azarakites were a branch of the Motazeli, and, like them, refused to submit to any authority, either spiritual or temporal. They had kept the field about three years, and committed all kinds of outrages and cruelty. For a long time Mohalleb had frequently come to blows with them; but the actions that had happened were far from being decisive, and the small advantages he gained, had only enabled him to prevent them from extending themselves so far as they proposed to do.

The death of Musab gave them time to breathe, and even to recover new strength, by means of the resolution which Mohalleb had taken of submitting to the Caliph. The homage of so famous a captain met with

ABDOLME-LIK. Hegyra 71. Ch. ær. 690.

with a gracious reception; and Abdolmelik had taken care, at the time he disposed of several great posts to the chief men of his court, that the new convert should not repent the step he had taken. He gave to Bashar, one of his brothers, the government of Cufah; Khaled had that of Basorah, and Mohalleb was appointed lieutenant of Ehwaz, which is part of Kusistan, and he was besides superintendant of the taxes raised in that province.

Hegyra 72. Ch. ær. 691. The Azarakites defeat the Caliph's troops.

In a short time Abdolmelik returned to Syria. The war against the Azarakites was again taken in hand, and Khaled was appointed to carry it on. He sent his brother Abdolaziz against them at the head of a body of troops: but the event was far from justifying his choice of a general. Abdolaziz was totally defeated, and his wife, who accompanied him in the expedition, was taken prisoner. The capture of this woman, who was very beautiful, raised great disputes among fuch of them as claimed a right to her; and one of their chiefs, being greatly displeased that a serious quarrel should arise on such an account, to end the dispute struck off her head.

The Caliph led.

Abdolaziz, who was excessively grieved, upbraids Kha- as well at his defeat, as the loss of what he held so dear, had the additional mortification to find, that the misfortune was attributed solely to him. The Caliph plainly told Khaled so in a letter he wrote in answer.

to one sent him by the latter, with the par- ABDOLMEticulars of the last fatal battle. Abdolmelik Hegyra 72. blamed him for having trusted the command Ch. ær. 691. of the troops to a person of so little experience. He asked him what was become of Mohalleb, and why he did not think of employing a captain so renowned for his penetrating judgment, and for his courage and skill in the art of war. He concluded his letter with recommending it to him to recruit his troops, that he might again march out against the Azarakites without delay; and he at the same time enjoined Khaled not to undertake any enterprize against them, without having previously consulted Mohalleb.

Khaled was not a little mortified at the order which the Caliph had given him; however, he complied with it, and sent to Mohalleb to come and join him without delay. They concerted together such mealures as were proper to be taken in order to oppose the rebels with success, and their forces being ready, they began their march to meet the enemy.

They came up with the Azarakites near The Azarathe city of Ehwaz, to which place they kites are beahad advanced. Mohalleb, observing that ten. the enemy had a confiderable number of ships on the river, proposed to make himself master of them; but the enemy prevented him, and set them on fire, that they might not be made use of by the Caliph's

troops



ABDOLME-LIK. Hegyra 72. Ch. ær. 691.

troops against them. They then strengthened themselves in their intrenchments, where they continued near twenty days, spight of all the attempts that were made to draw them to battle. At last they marched out of their strong hold, and one of the most bloody engagements ensued, that had been seen in the memory of man. The Azarakites, after having stood the attacks of their enemies with the utmost bravery, were at last forced to give ground, and soon were put to a total rout. Some troops were sent in pursuit, who made a terrible slaughter of all they could come up with, and followed the rest even into Persia.

This victory, together with the other advantages Abdolmelik had gained, enabled him to make preparations for subduing Abdallah the son of Zobeir, the only enemy that held out against him. That stout Musfulman still maintained himself on the throne of Mecca, where he assumed the title of Caliph, and seemed resolved not to part with it whilst he lived.

Hejage follicits the command of the army against Abdallah. Abdolmelik therefore joined all his troops in a body, in order to attack his rival, and gave the command of his army to Hejage, one of the most eloquent, as well as warlike captains amongst the Arabians. He had sollicited that command of the Caliph, and promised him success in the enterprize on account of a dream. "One night," said he to Abdolmelik, "I dreamed that I had taken

the son of Zobeir, and flayed him; therefore ABDOLMEcommit the management of the war to me, Hegyra 72. and I will forfeit my head if I do not bring Ch. ær. 691.

him to you dead or alive."

The boldness and resolution which Hejage shewed in his request to march against Abdallah, appeared to the Caliph a good omen of success in the enterprize: he readily conferred on him the command of his troops. Hejage made the most speedy preparations for his march to Mecca, and in order to convince the inhabitants of that city how little he feared them, he sent them a letter couched in the following terms:

These are to inform you, that I am The letter about to lay siege to your city. I will not which he sent leave your walls till I am master of the cans. place. If you think sit to offer reasonable terms, I will listen to them. I know you are under the tyrannical government of Abdallah, who is bent on preserving his title till he dies, though he should be buried under the ruins of your city. Think of your

fafety."

He age having sent away this letter, began his march in a short time at the head of his troops. Abdallah, on his part, made preparations to oppose him: but being unwilling to wait till He jage arrived in the neighbourhood of Mecca, he sent out several detachments of cavalry to harass the Syrians in their march. Upon this, frequent skirmishes happened between the parties, in S 4 which

ABDOLME-

Hegyra 72. Ch. ær. 691.

He besieges Mecca.

The Syrian troops are discouraged.

which great courage and resolution were shewn on both sides; however, the Meccan troops were generally worsted. These advantages did not prevent the Syrian general from collecting, during his march, some considerable reinforcements, which were furnished by the governors of some of the provinces, in pursuance of the Caliph's orders.

Hejage being provided with so large a body of troops, set down before Mecca, and invested the place. He soon began his attacks with great fury, but without success, on account of the gallant defence made by Abdallah's troops. The siege continued eight months, and the Syrians had been able to make so little progress, that they began to murmur at the excessive fatigue they were forced to sustain. And indeed the weather was become so tempestuous, that the soldiers, who were exposed to its inclemency, could no longer bear it: but it was still worse when a dreadful storm of thunder and lightning came on, and lasted many days, by which twelve of the Syrian soldiers were killed.

By that accident their courage was entirely sunk. They were persuaded that heaven disapproved their undertaking, and that the death of those twelve soldiers was a sure presage of what would befal the rest, if they obstinately continued the siege.

He removes their fears.

Hejage was much disturbed at this event; not that he was so weak or ignorant as to

believe

believe the thunder was any more than the Abdolmeeffect of a natural cause: but the question Hegyra 72. was, how to undeceive and encourage his ter- Ch. ar. 691. rified troops, which was no easy task. Happily for him, the next day another storm arose, and the lightning killed some of Abdallah's men. Hejage did not miss so fair an opportunity: "You see," said he to his soldiers, " that the lightning does not spare your enemies any more than you. But the difference between you is, that you are obedient to God, and they disobedient." This short harangue had its effect, and the Syrians renewed their attacks with fresh vigour.

But what chiefly contributed to their Abdallah is marching up boldly to the enemy, was the abandoned by intelligence they received of the great confusion which prevailed in the city. Abdallah's troops began to desert, his friends abandoned him, and even his two sons, Hamzah and Hobeid, came to the camp and demanded a conference with Hejage, in order to procure conditions for themselves.

Abdallah, who was almost worn out by Hegyra 73. the fatigues he had sustained during so long Ch. ær. 692. a siege, was utterly dejected to see himself Abdallah's thus abandoned on all sides, and on the mother encourages point of being forced to yield to the enemy. him to hold One person alone strove to rouse his courage: out. it was his mother, a woman of an undaunted spirit, and remarkable for her great zeal and devotion. She was grand-daughter to the illustrious



LIK.

ABDOLME- illustrious Caliph Abubecre, and her conduct had been always suitable to her noble

Hegyra 73. Chr. ær. 692. birth.

That couragious woman, though then ninety years old, had preserved all her senses, and had still a noble resolution of mind superior to all events. She had been confulted in all matters relating to the defence of Mecca; but she redoubled her care when she found her fon in so desparing a condition. She accompanied him to the ramparts of the city; she caused refreshments to be brought, which she distributed to him, and also to the foldiers that defended the breach. Her presence, her assistance, and her councils, for some time kept up the courage of the Meccans; but the defection of so many of the principal officers as daily deserted to the enemy was a terrible blow, which deprived the general of all resolution and judgment.

He imparted to his mother the terrible fituation he was reduced to; and being fenfible that with the few troops he had left he could not long oppose the enemy, he asked her if it would not be advisable to surrender, that he might obtain the better con-

ditions.

She strongly opposed the design, and told her son, that by surrendering to save his life, he would become the scorn of the boys of the Ommiyan family, and that he could no otherwise merit esteem, than by persevering in the right to the last moment.

"It is better to die," said she, "than to neglect Appolme-LIK. one's duty."

The courage and resolution of Abdallah Ch. ar. 692. seemed to be on a sudden restored by the discourse of his mother; and when she had made an end of speaking, he warmly assured her, that the generous sentiments she had then expressed, were the same as he had entertained to that very day; that he was not fond of the world, or desirous of life; and that zeal to religion and the honour of God, were the only motives to his rifing up against the Caliph. He added, that he was resolved to die, rather than accept any terms from the enemy. He begged her not to grieve immoderately at an event, which he knew would rend her heart, spight of her great resignation to the will of God: but that she would reflect that her son had never walked in the ways of the wicked, nor done any thing for which he could be justly reproached. "O God! thou knowest," said he, "that I do not say this in my own justification, but that my mother may be comforted after my death."

He would then have instantly gone to the ramparts, at once to put an end to his life and exploits; but before he departed she gave him a draught with musk, to increase his courage. She affured him, that if he was killed in fight, he would die a martyr. Abdallah answered, that he was not in the least afraid of death, but he was apprehensive of

LIK.

Hegyra 73. Ch. ær. 692.

Abdallah is killed in an attack.

ABDOLME- being afterwards exposed to the insults of his enemies; to which she couragiously replied. "The sheep, when once killed, does not feel the flaying:" upon which she dismissed him.

> Abdallah therefore went out to oppose the enemy; and encouraging his troops, he put himself at their head, and made such a bold attack on the enemy as greatly amazed them. He killed a great number with his own hand, and by the assistance of the troops that accompanied him, he repulsed and even overthrew, in the ditch of the town, all the troops that came to support the first body. But at last the great multitude of assailants obliged him to retreat in his turn; and the enemy gaining ground, step by step, the brave Abdallah still faced them, and slew many more before he was surrounded. That great man had now no weapons left but his sword and lance, however he still held out some time. He retired to a part of Mecca, where he could be attacked only in front, and defended himself, to the terror and astonishment of his enemies. The Syrian soldiers, not daring to approach him, and having no more arrows to shoot at a distance, they threw at him bricks, tiles, and stones, and whatever else they could find, till they made him stagger, It is related, that when he felt the blood trickle down his face and beard, he repeated this verse of an arabian poet: "The blood of our wounds doth not fall down upon our heels,

heels, but upon our feet:" meaning that ABDOLMEhe had not turned his back upon his enemies.

Hegyra 72

At last, after having defended himself as Ch. ær. 692. long as he could, he sunk under the blows of the Syrians, who sell on him, put an end to his life, and cut off his head. The news of his death was instantly carried to Hejage, who

fell down and worshipped.

Thus fell the famous Abdallah, after having borne the title of Caliph in Mecca full nine years. Historians praise him upon account of his courage, but they at the same time agree that he was excessively avaricious; which gave rise to a common saying amongst the Arabians, "That before Abdallah-ebn-Zobeir, there never was a valiant man but he was also liberal."

After the death of Abdallah, and the furrender of Mecca, all Arabia, except some small bodies of rebels, submitted to the Caliph of Syria, and took the oaths of allegiance to

him in the presence of Hejage.

That general employed the following year Hegyra 747 in establishing Abdolmelik's authority; and Ch. ær. 693. in order to gain him the affections of the Hejage repeople, he resolved to put things at Mecca grimage to on the same soot they had been during the Mecca. prophet's time. He therefore pulled down all the buildings which Abdallah had added to the chief mosque, and restored it to the form it was in before Mahomet's days. This change gave great satisfaction to a number of devout Mussulmen, and pilgrimages

LIK.

Hegyra 74. Ch. ær. 693.

He causes the rest of the rebels to fubliph.

ABDOLME- mages became more frequent than they had been for many years. Abdolmelik himself took a journey thither, and seemed well pleased with the alterations Hejage had made.

The Caliph, shortly after the taking of Mecca, gave a proof of his gratitude to that mit to the Ca- general, by adding the governments of Hejaz and Irak to those of Chorasan and Sejestan, which he already possessed. And Hejage, in return for the Caliph's favour, took all possible measures to subdue the several bodies of rebels, who from time to time took up arms against Abdolmelik. He is indeed reproached with having exercised the utmost severity and most excessive cruelties, and particularly at Medina, where it seemed as if that general had resolved to cut off all the inhabitants, or force them to quit the city. He also exercised the same severities and cruelties against such of the Irakians and Basorians as dared to rebel against the Caliph; and, spight of the clamours and secret practices of the conspirators, he had either the prudence or the good fortune to subdue all' the enemies of Abdolmelik.

Hegyra 75. Ch. ær. 694. Fresh revolt against the Caliph.

But the greatest opposition that Hejage ever met with was begun by one Shebid a Karegite, and Saleh, another sectary. Theyhad formed a conspiracy to assassinate Abdolmelik at Mecca, at the time he made a pilgrimage to that city. They came there to execute their design; but hearing that it was discovered to the Caliph, they fled away with

with the utmost precipitation. And far Abdolme-from submitting, they raised a body of troops, Hegyra 75. and putting themselves at their head, com-Ch. ær. 694. mitted great ravages in Mesopotamia, a province which was then governed by an old officer named Merwan.

That governor having received advice of the insurrection, resolved to quell it. But finding the number of the rebels was so small, he despised them, and sent some detachments out against them, which, though they were more numerous than the conspirators, were far from being able to deal with them, for one of their men was as good as twenty other Mahometans: and in fact the troops that were sent to oppose them, were almost totally routed, and their commander was killed in an action that happened. That victory greatly encouraged Shebid and his affociate; they made new levies, and their troops, which had before confisted only of infantry, were now partly mounted, and formed a body of cavalry, by means of the horses which they took from their enemies in the last battle.

Hejage, enraged at the insolence of the Hegyra 76. rebels, sent out a body of troops under the Ch. ær. 695. command of Hareth-al-Hamdani, with or-The rebels ders to use his utmost endeavours to destroy the whole party. That officer came up with them at a place called Modbage, near Mausil, the capital of Mesopotamia; he attacked them almost as soon he came in sight of their army, and pushed them so furiously, that Saleh

ABDOIME-LIK Hegyra 76. Ch ær. 695. Saleh and a great number of his chief officers were killed at the first onset. Shebid
had also like to have lost his life in the action.
He was beat from his horse, and narrowly
escaped being trampled on by his own cavalry,
but his men luckily carried him off. So soon
as he was remounted, he continued the fight
with the utmost ardour; but finding his
troops considerably weakened by the loss he
had sustained at the beginning of the action,
he resolved to retreat to an empty castle which
was near the field of battle; and this they
performed in such good order, that the enemy
dared not to attack them in their retreat.

They are invested in a castle. Hareth forthwith invested the castle, and resolved to destroy them all. He commanded a great quantity of wood to be brought, and laid at the castle gate; he then ordered his men to set it on sire, and go to rest, supposing the entrance of the castle would be so well guarded by the flames, that the rebels would not attempt to make their escape.

They fally out, and cut the Caliph's army in treces.

Shebid, who wisely considered that he should not be able to defend himself against so great a force, in the morning came to a resolution of endeavouring to extricate himself from the difficulty that night; he spoke to his men, who readily agreed to stand by him in the enterprize. Necessity made them industrious and inventive; they sound means of getting out, notwithstanding the fire; and the besiegers were amazed when about midnight they saw Shebid and his soldiers in the midst

midst of their camp, cutting all to pieces Abbotus. that they came at. Al-Hamdani caused an Hegyra 76. alarm to be sounded, and with a few troops Ch. ær. 695. that he got together attempted to stop their progress, when his men were all put to the fword by the enemy, and the general himself was struck down; but immediately relieved by those about him; and as he was but slightly wounded, he was resolved to make a push in hopes of repulsing the enemy; but this attempt was of no use, and occafioned the loss of some of his bravest men. The rest fled with great consternation and confusion, and the general with difficulty escaped with his life.

This victory swelled the pride of Shebid, and rendered him more enterprizing than he was before: and though his troops were far from being numerous, he thought himself in a condition of engaging with any force that could be sent out against him. He became terrible even to Hejage, who having marched in person to subdue that rebel, was so oroughly handled in several rencounters, that he was forced to give over his attempts, and send for reinforcements, to prevent that formidable adversary from gaining an absolute superiority. He retreated to Basorah, and left Shebid master of the field.

So soon as Hejage was marched away, Shebid had the affurance to attack Cufah with the few troops then under his command. However, he made himself master of the VOL. II. place.

THENT OF

ABDOLME-

Hegyra 77. Ch. ær. 696.

Hejage defeats them.

Shebid is drowned in the Tygris.

Hegyra 82. Ch. ær. 701.

place. Thither Hejage marched, when he had received the reinforcements he required, his army then amounting to fifteen or fixteen thousand men. Shebid, who had not above fix hundred men with him, was so rash as to join battle with Abdolmelik's general; and he was punished for his temerity; for the action being begun, neither his own valour, nor the intrepidity of his troops, could enable him long to withstand so superior a force. The rebels, however, made a most gallant resistance; but Shebid seeing many of his bravest soldiers fall, and his brother, and even his wife, having been slain before his eyes, he was forced to betake himself to flight, with the remains of his troops. He retired to the frontiers of Persia, where he was greatly harassed by a party of Syrians, who lost a hundred men, whom Shebid killed during the pursuit. After some time Shebid advanced to Ehwaz, and attempting to take possession of a bridge, the Syrians, who closely pursued him, disputed the pasfage with him; and at the very time he was engaged with the enemy on the bridge, his horse took flight, fell with him into the Tygris, and he was drowned. His body was taken up out of the river, and his head was cut off, and sent to Hejage.

By the death of that arch rebel an end was put to all the intestine divisions that had arisen in the mahometan empire since the days of Ali. But in the 82d year of the

Hegyra

Hegyra a dangerous commotion arose, occa- Appointssioned by a grudge between Hejage and a

captain named Abdarrahman.

Hejage, who intentely hated him, had ma-Abdamahliciously plotted his destruction, and sent him man is acwith an inconsiderable force against the knowledged Turks, with orders to carry the war into the governor of heart of their country. Abdarrahman asfumed the command; but having received private information of Hejage's barbarous intentions towards him, he soon acquainted his troops, that they were fent on the expedition purposely to be made a sacrifice. The officers and soldiers, being enraged at the base and malicious dealings of Hejage, vowed revenge; and renouncing all obedience to Hejage, they immediately acknowledged Abdarrahman as governor of Irak, and took the oath to him in that quality.

This done, to the great satisfaction of Ab- He concludes darrahman, he marched towards the country the Turks, of the Turks, with a view only to conclude and gains fea treaty with the sovereign of that country: veral advan-after which he returned into Irak, where he Hejage. made ono secret of his intentions to attack Hejage, and revenge his perfidiousness. The latter having been soon informed of Abdarrahman's design, resolved to prevent him, and marched out to meet him with a very numerous body of troops: but, spight of that precaution, Hejage was beaten in the first encounter; and Abdarrahman marched his vic-

Hegyra 82. Ch. ær. 701.

ABDOLME-LIK.

Hegyra 82. Ch. ær. 701.

He is acknowledged Caliph at Basorah.

torious army to Basorah, where he knew his enemy was detested.

The inhabitants received him with such loud acclamations, as must have been very pleasing to him; and in the heighth of their transports, they not only renounced all obedience to Hejage, as their governor, but they even went so far as to throw off all allegiance to the Caliph, and proclaim Abdarrahman in his stead.

And also at Cufah.

Hejage, who well knew the consequence of giving his rival time to establish his authority, hazarded another battle, and was beaten as before. Abdarrahman, being refolved to push his advantage, marched to Cufah, the inhabitants of which city were, he found, greatly enraged against Hejage for his tyrannical behaviour towards them. The inhabitants of Cufah therefore followed the example of the Basorians, and Abdarrahman was in like manner proclaimed in both cities. Hejage, vexed to the highest degree to see his reputation sullied by having been so often beaten, resolved to have another trial, in hopes of wiping off so mortifying a disgrace.

Hejage gathers together an army, and defeats him.

He gathered together as many troops as he could. His rival did the like on his part, but with much greater success, for Hejage by his cruelties having alienated the minds of the inhabitants from him, they chose rather to list under the banners of Abdarrahman, who either really was, or seemed to

be, much more moderate and merciful. ABDOLME-The latter had therefore foon an army of Hegyra 82. one hundred thousand men under his com- Ch. ær. 701. mand. Hejage would have found great difficulty to have set on foot an army capable to face so great a body of men, but as Abdolmelik was personally interested in the affair, he sent him several large detachments of Syrians, which foon enabled him to take the field.

The two armies having began their march, came in fight of each other at a place called Dairkorrah, where they entertained such apprehensions of each other, as to omit no proper means for their security. They covered their respective camps with strong entrenchments, to avoid being surprized; and the armies remained almost three months in the same position. However, they were far from being idle, for scarce a day passed without some action between parties, and some bloody skirmishes, in which the advantages were nearly equal. But at last a skirmish happening between two detachments, and fresh troops being continually sent from the two armies in support of their respective friends, the action became general, and proved fatal to Abdarrahman's party. His troops were totally routed. That general endeavoured in vain to rally them, he was borne down by a torrent of fugitives, and obliged to mix himself amongst them in order to escape the enemy. T 3

Abdar-

unani-

ABDOLME-LIK.

Hegyra 82. Ch. ær. 701.

Abdarrahman

Abdarrahman fled for refuge to Sahan, where he was foon feized by a body of horse fent out to pursue him; but Zentil, king of the Turks, who had conceived a great friendis taken prifo- ship for that general from the time they conner and relea-cluded the last treaty together, came to his fed by a king affistance, and rescued him. Hejage was no of the Turks. Turks. sooner informed of it, than he sent a messenger to Zentil, and demanded Abdarrahman to be delivered up, threatening, in case of refusal, to enter the king's territories with his victorious army, and put all to fire and fword.

Zentil, who was not in a condition to refift so powerful a force, and that commanded by a general who usually went so resolutely to work, was greatly embarrassed what answer to return. He was unwilling to have upon his hands such an enemy as Hejage, and it pained him greatly to think of delivering up a friend, to whom he had promised Abdarrahman an asylum in his dominions. In so critical destroys him- a juncture, Abdarrahman himself put an end to the whole difficulty. That general, fearing each moment that he should be given up into the hands of an implacable enemy, who would infult him under his misfortunes, and put him to a shameful and cruel death, threw himself from the top of the house which Zentil had appointed for his residence. After the death of that rebel peace was by degrees restored in Arabia, and the people

felf.

unanimously acknowledged the Caliph of Abdolme-Syria as their fovereign.

Hejage, covered with glory, began to taste Ch. ar. 702. the sweets of peace, and took due measures Hejage builds, to establish Abdolmelik's power in all the the city of provinces of Irak under his government. Wafer. He then built a city on the Tygris, which he called Waset, an arabic word, that signifies middle, and he named it so, because it stood on a spot of ground at equal distance

from Cufah and Basorah. Abdolmelik did not live long to enjoy the Hegyra 86. fruits of the peace with which his subjects Ch. ær. 705. were then blessed. He died in the 86th The death of Abdolmelik. year of the Hegyra, and about the 20th year of his reign, aged about 60 years. Ebn Athir, an arabian author, relates that the Caliph was seized with a distemper which his physicians declared would be mortal, if they gave him any thing to drink. But his thirst increased so violently, that he was unable to forbear, and commanded his fon Waled to give him some water. Waled, who loved his father, refused to comply in consequence of the orders of the physicians. The Caliph then requested the same thing of Fatima his daughter, but his son prevented her, by holding her in his arms; whereupon Abdolmelik told Waled in a passion, that if he did not let his sister go, he would disinherit him. Upon this Waled was forced to yield, and the Caliph had no fooner drank the fatal draught he so eagerly required,



LIK.

Hegyra 86. Ch. ær. 705.

ABDOLME- required, than he instantly fainted, and died

in a very short time.

This Caliph was more powerful than any of his predecessors, but his power was not owing to any of those good qualities which he possessed before he attained the crown. Abulpheda says, tha this prince lost all merit from the moment he ascended the throne. However, he was so fortunate as to have excellent commanders, by whose means his undertakings were attended with the greatest fuccess.

He is accused of extreme avarice, on account of which he was nicknamed Rashal-Hejer, that is to say, " sweat of a stone." He was also called Abul Zebad, which signifies, "father of flies," by reason of his breath: it is said his breath was so noisome, that it killed all the flies that settled on his

lips.

He left four children, who enjoyed the Caliphate one after another; to wit, Waled, Soliman, Yezid, and Hescham. It is related, that the fortune of those children was told him by a Mussulman, named Saad, a man excellently skilled in the interpretation of dreams. The Caliph dreamed one night that he urined in the most sacred part of the temple of Mecca, and this dream happening four times successively, Saad, who was confulted on that account, foretold that four of his children should successively possess the throne.

It is afferted that he was the first who Abdolmecoined money in Arabia: before which they Hegyra 86. made use of Greek and Persian money. Ch. ær. 705. Abdolmelik caused the following inscription The Caliph to be put on his coin, "Say there is one coins new God." The Caliph used to begin thus the money. letters he sent to the Greek emperor, who complained of it as an innovation, and defired he would alter it, otherwise he threatened he would fend them some coin with fuch a mention of their prophet upon it, as they should not very well like. Abdolmelik, enraged at the menace, and resolving not to alter the form of his letters, prohibited the grecian money, and stamped some coin to be current in his own dominions. And this was the origin of the first coin of the Arabians.

ELEVENTH CALIPH.

ALED, the eldest son of Abdol- Waled. melik, succeeded his father, and as-Hegyra 86. cended the throne immediately after the Ch. ær. 705. death of that prince. Tho' this Caliph did Conquests of the Arabians nothing in person, yet he is very famous on in the reign of account of the great conquests made by the Waled. Arabians during his reign. They enlarged their dominions to the Atlantick ocean by the streights of Gibraltar: they entered Europe,

and

WALED. Hegyra 86. Chær. 705. and conquered the southern provinces of Spain * They at the same time pushed their conquests towards the East, where they subdued the greatest part of the Indies on this side the river Ganges; then northwards, where they made themselves masters of Kouaresm, Transoxana, Turkestan, and other provinces.

Hegyra 88. Ch. ær. 707. Catibah

Catibah makes himfelf master of Kouaresm. The last conquests were owing to the valour of Catibah-ebn-Muslim, a famous captain, and the first Arabian that entered Kouaresmin an hostile manner. He had been appointed governor of Chorasan, a country adjoining to that province; and having passed some time in establishing some good order in the countries over which he presided, he formed a design of immortalizing his name, by extending the limits of the Arabian empire.

He passed the river Gihon at the head of a formidable army, and without much difficulty passed the frontiers of Kouaresm. However in attempting to advance surther, he met with greater obstacles; the people took up arms in defence of their country. But Catibah so animated his troops by the example he set them, that the Kouaresmians

^{*} El Makin, an arabian author, relates that in the 93d year of the negyra, one of Wared's generals seized Andalusia and the kingdom of Toledo, and brought to the Caliph the table of Solomon the son of David, which was made of a mixture of gold and silver, with three rows of pearls round it.

WALFD. Hegyra 88.

resisted in vain, and were forced to submit to the yoke.

Ch. ær. 70

This victory did not satisfy the general: finding the people were idolators, he at-He enters tempted to convert them to Islamism, and prevailed. Catibah pursued his advantage, passed the Oxus, and entered Transoxana, a province of Turkestan. Majurek, king of that country, was surprized by so sudden an inroad, and being unable to assemble a body of troops sufficient for his defence, he fled for refuge to the famous city of Samarcand, the capital of his dominions.

Catibah pursued him thither, and invested Catibah be-the city; but he was forced to turn the takes Samarfiege into a blockade, for want of machines cand. to batter the place. Having closely confined the inhabitants, and prevented their communication with the country, he resolved to make an assault on such parts of the fortifications as he judged to be the weakest. But his attack did not succeed: the inhabitants defended themselves with great bravery, and the Arabians were repulsed with great

loss. This advantage made them infolent; they boldly appeared on their ramparts, and frequently rallied and abused the besiegers. Amongst other of their taunts, Catibah was told that the besieged said, "The place would never be taken, till it was taken by a cameldriver."

Th

WALED. Hegyra 88. C. ær. 707.

The general had no fooner received the information, than he fell prostrate and returned thanks to God for such good news. His officers, amazed at the action, asked him what advantage he thought could accrue from the raillery of the besieged: "I am appointed," said he, "to conquer this city; for I remember that when I was very young, being of a very dull genius, my parents often told me, I was sit only for a camel-driver."

The courage of the troops was raised by the sanguineness with which Catibah formed his designs, and by the great resolution with which he issued his orders on this extraordinary occasion; though they wanted almost every thing necessary for the siege of a place, they found means to supply the defect by their great valour and activity, and at last they reduced the inhabitants to such straits, that, to avoid a storm, and to prevent the city from being plundered and totally ruined, they demanded to capitulate. Catibah consented to receive them on terms, and they agreed to pay a yearly tribute of one thousand denarii of gold, and three thousand slaves.

He introduces and establishes the mahome-tan religion there.

That general, who was very zealous for the propagation of Mussulmanism, resolved to destroy the idolatrous worship which then prevailed in the city, and to establish the mahometan religion in its stead. He condescended to instruct them himself, and was

so successful in his endeavours, that all the WALED. idols were broken down, to introduce the Hegyra 88. worship of one God. He appointed Imams to cultivate the seeds of the religion which he had sown in their hearts: and in a short time he caused a stately mosque to be erected, where Islamism was openly preached; and the inhabitants became in the sequel devout observers of the law of Mahomet.

Whilst Waled's generals were enlarging Waled causes his dominions by the conquest of distant erected in maprovinces, where they planted the maho-ny cities. metan faith, the Caliph was employed in building magnificent mosques at different places, in honour to the memory of the apostle of God, that the people, struck with awe at the majestic appearance of those edifices, might entertain a higher veneration for the doctrine taught therein.

Waled founded a mosque at Damascus, which was a building worthy a king, and to render it more spacious, he caused the church of St. John Baptist, then belonging to the Christians, to be pulled down, and made use of the ground to enlarge his own mosque. Some authors say, that he offered the Christians 50,000 crowns, if they would surrender their church; but that they having refused to sell it, he took it from them by force, and caused it to be demolished, without paying them any considerati for the same.

Ch. ær. 707.



WALED. Hegyra 88. Ch. ær. 707.

At the time he erected the mosque at Damascus, he ordered that at Medina to be rebuilt, in which he expended immense fums of money. He was resolved to spare no cost for the imbellishment of a city, which had served Mahomet as a place of retreat from the fury of his enemies, and in which he ended his days, after having laid the foundations of one of the most extensive monarchies in the universe.

Nor did the Caliph forget Mecca, which was the place of the prophet's birth. He caused a plan to be prepared of the edifice he proposed to erect there; and having examined and approved it, he sent his architects to that city, and ordered Abdolaziz, who was then governor of Mecca, to comply with, and affist them in every thing they should think fit, and stand in need of, for

the building of the mosque.

The work was forthwith taken in hand, and a great number of houses, the property of private persons, were thrown down, to form an immense square, in which they laid the foundation of the edifice. But in doing this, they met with great opposition, particularly from some ancient Mussulmen, who were grieved to see them depart from the plainess and simplicity used in the days of the prophet, to erect buildings of a new fancy, f med according to the rules of art, and with a stateliness and cost which seem-

ed to prognosticate a sudden relaxation in WALED. discipline and manners.

Hegyra 80. Ch. ær. 708.

But these complaints did not put a stop to the undertaking, and in a short time magnificent buildings reared their lofty heads, in places where formerly stood those antique ruins which had been the habitations of the first patriarchs of Mussulmanism. Historians have given us the following account and description of the mosques built by Waled.

Those great edifices consisted of quadrangles, the outfides whereof were adorned with three or four rows of galleries, in which two men might walk a-breast. Each stage of those galleries was supported by pillars, whose shafts were very small, and between the pillars were stone balconies, with open rails and ornaments. The chapiters of the columns were also ornamented in the same taste. At each corner of the mosque was a polygon tower of admirable architecture. From the top of these towers seven or eight Muezins, used twice a day to cry out Allah, Allah, &c, the fignal that the hour of public prayer was at hand, and that the people should prepare for it by ablutions, and other ceremonies enjoined by the law. The mosques erected by Waled have generally ferved as a model for these since built by the Mahometans.

Waled not only founded houses for the ser- Hegyra 90. vice of religion, but he also from time to time Ch. ær. 709. caused instructions to be given to the people



Hegyra 90. Ch. ær. 709.

His hatred to the Greeks.

WALED. of the conquered provinces, who were in general idolaters. But his aversion to the Heathens, in no wise equalled the hatred he bore to the Christians, and especially the Greeks. He prohibited his subjects from making any further use of the greek tongue, though it had before been taught in the schools, and employed to many purposes through the whole extent of his dominion, and though it was the language in which all publick and juridical acts and proceedings were written. Shortly after which he declared war against that nation, who had given him fresh cause of displeasure by affording a shelter to the Armenians, who had rebelled against him.

He declares war against the Greeks.

His army entered Greece, and having ravaged part of the country, advanced to the roman provinces, where they made themselves masters of some places of no great strength. The Caliph had ordered his troops to march into Asia-Minor, but his generals advised him to countermand the order, lest they should be surprized by the enemy. Besides, his soldiers were so loaded with plunder, that they had enough to do to carry it into Syria.

Hegyra 91, 92. &c. Ch. ær. 710. 711. &c.

Divisions in Greece.

The next year the Musfulmen entered Galatia, without meeting with any considerable opposition from the Grecians, whose empire had been long rent by intestine divisions. The throne was then become a prey to the strongest. The usurper committed all kinds of cruelties on the prince he dethroned,

and

and in his turn received his punishment in Waled. kind from a new competitor, who deprived Hegyra 92. &c. him of the crown.

Thus Justinian the second was dethroned by Leontius, who cut off his nose, and sent Troubles in him into exile. Leontius in his turn was de-the Grecian posed by Absimarus, who banished him to a empire. monastery, after having done with him in like manner as he had with his predecessor. Justinian having been restored to the throne by a new revolution, that prince gave a loose to his natural barbarity; he committed unheard-of cruelties on his subjects, and even carried his brutality so far, as to invent new kinds of punishments to torment fuch as had incurred his displeasure. The princes who succeeded him were for the most part inhuman monsters, who are remarkable in history only for their vices.

Such was the state and condition of the Grecian empire. The people, (who are commonly too apt to follow the example of their governors in doing evil) gave themselves up to infidelity, debauchery, and all forts of crimes. Unable to defend themselves against the attempts of their enemies, they employed the forces they had on foot, only in supporting factions, and intestine war, which caused the devastation of cities and provinces, and the shedding the blood of citizens. Besides, their frontiers were unguarded, and their cities which lay nearest to the enemy defenceless, and as it were invited them to extend VOL. II.

The HISTORY of

WALED.
Hegyra 92.
&c.
Ch. ær. 711.

tend their dominions, without battle and without siege.

It must however be consessed that the Grecians, animated perhaps by remembrance of their pristine valour, did sometimes endeavour to rouse themselves from their indolence, and shake off the yoke of those who boldly advanced into the very heart of their country, in order to inslave them; but these were feint attempts, and like a transitory slame, which is suddenly extinguished; insomuch that though the Mussulmen were strongly repulsed on some occasions, yet they returned to the charge. Thus they attacked the Grecian empire at several times, and at last shook its very soundations, as will appear in the sequel of this history.

The rapid success of the Mussulmen during the reign of Waled, gained that prince the titles of victorious and conqueror. Not that he any way personally contributed to them; but he was so lucky as to be provided of excellent generals, who, being favoured by fortune, and guided by consummate experience, succeeded in almost all their enterprizes: the glory of their atchievements redounded on the Caliph. And that prince is famous in history, as if he had always headed his troops, and their success had been solely owing to his bravery, or skill in the art of

war.

Disagreement of authors as to Waled's character.

As to his personal qualifications, authors differ widely in the account they give of them.

the ARABIANS.

them. Syrian writers bestow on Waled the WALED. highest commendations, and look on him to Hegyra 92. be the greatest of the dynasty of the Om- Ch. ær. 711. miyans. Arabian authors, on the contrary, describe him to have been violent, unjust, cruel; in a word, worthy the name they bestowed on him, of Pharaëni Ommiyah, that is to fay, the Pharaoh of the house of Ommiyah; alledging that this prince had all the bad qualities of the Pharaoh of Egypt, who reigned in the days of Moses. Others, when they name that Caliph, always add an invective or malediction. There is one, for example, who never calls him otherwise than Waled-nam-peled; that is, Waled whose name is abominable.

He died in the 96th year of the Hegyra, Hegyra 96. and 715th year of Christ, after a reign Ch. 21.715. of ten or eleven years. "He was buried," Death of the says El-Makin, "at Damascus, in the sepul-Caliph. chre of the little gate." The same author says, that this Caliph was tall, that his complexion was very brown, and his face much pitted with the small pox, and that he was flat-nosed, but that he was otherwise a personable man. They make no mention of his children, but speak of his wives: alledging, that he espoused fixty-three women.

During the reign of this prince, the name of Saracens, which had been usually given only to the Arabian Musfulmen since the time of Omar the first, was bestowed by Christian authors on all such as professed Mahometism,

The HISTORY of

Hegyra 96. as well in Arabia, as in Syria, and the other Ch. ær. 715. countries under their government.

Several stories concerning O Hejage.

About a year before Waled's death, the Ommiyans lost the famous Hejage, who had rendered himself so formidable to their enemies during the reign of Abdolmelik. Arabian authors also say that he had a great share in those exploits, which rendered the Caliphate of Waled so illustrious; but, instead of giving a particular account of his great feats and gallant atchievements, they relate some incidents and stories, which are of little consequence to the history of the Arabians in general, and only serve to illustrate the greatness and singularity of the genius of that eminent man.

It is related, that this general being one day a hunting, and having lost his company, met with a wild Arab, who knew nothing of him. By way of amusement he asked the Arab, what fort of man that Hejage was, of whom they talked so much in their country. "I never faw him" answered the Arab, "but he is a very crue! wicked man." Hejage, a little surprized, said to him, "How! dost thou not know me?" the Arabian having answered in the negative; "I must tell you then, friend," replied Hejage, "that I am the very Hejage you have been speaking so ill of." The Arab, without the least concern, asked Hejage in his turn if he knew him; and he answered no. "I must inform you then," said the countryman, "that I am of the family of Zobeir,

Zobeir, whose posterity are all sools three Hegyra 96. days in the year, and this is one of them." Ch. ær. 715 Though Hejage was very severe, and even

cruel, he could not help laughing at so ingenious a come-off; and, far from punishing the Arab for his indiscretion, he civilly asked

him the way to find out his companions.

On a like occasion he came to the entrance of a wood, where a shepherd was feeding his sheep. As he galloped thither, the noise frighted the flock, and they scattered and ran away. The shepherd in a fury began to curse the person who had so scared his sheep, Hejage heard him, and instead of shewing any resentment, he civilly saluted the shepherd, and wished him peace. The Arab, regardless of his civility, answered in a rage, that he wished him neither peace nor blessing. Hejage, pretending not to understand him, begged he would give him some water to drink, for he was exceeding thirsty. The Arab told him, there was a fountain near, and he might alight and help himself; for he was neither his fellow nor his man, to do him such a piece of service.

Hegage took all in good part, and did as the shepherd bad him; and being returned, he asked the Arab whom he believed to be the greatest and most excellent of all men? "Mahomet" answered the shepherd. "And what say you of Ali?" added Hejage. The Arab answered "his excellency cannot be sufficiently expressed in words." Hejage con-



Ch. ar. 715.

Hegyra 96. tinuing the discourse, asked what he thought of Abdolmelik, (then reigning Caliph) and Hejage, his general, governor of the two Arabians. The Arab was filent, and seemed unwilling to answer; but on being pressed, he answered, that he looked on Abdolmelik to be a bad prince. ".Why so?" said Hejage. "Why" replied the Arabian, "because he has fent us for a governor, the most wicked man under the heavens."

> Whilst he was still speaking, a bird flew over their heads making a fort of noise, which the Arab had no sooner heard, than he looked stedfastly on Hejage, and asked him who he was. The general was defirous to know the reason for his curiosity. "The bird* which flew by," said the shepherd, "told me there was a company of people not far off, and that very likely you are the chief of them." He soon found he was not mistaken; for Hejage's company instantly came up, and expressed their great joy at finding him again. He soon departed, and carried the Arab with him, who having then no doubt to whom he had been speaking with so much rudeness and indiscretion, would willingly have been dispensed with from

^{*} There were people amongst the Arabians that pretended to understand the language of birds, which they said had been known amongst them ever since the time of Solomon and the queen of Sheba, who had a bird called Huddud, or the Houp, who was the messenger of their amours.

taking the journey, but he was forced to Hegyra 96. Ch. ar. 715.

obey.

The next day Hejage sent for him at dinner time, and made him sit down at his table. The Arab, before he began to eat, instead of the grace commonly used by Mussulmen, said: "God grant that the end of this meal may be as fortunate as the be-

ginning."

This grace was taken notice of; but Hejage made as if he had not heard it. Whilst they were eating, he asked the Arab if he remembered the conversation that passed between them the day before. This question frighted the Arab, who thought he was likely to pay dear for the honour of sitting at so great a man's table. Hejage immediately added, "You must absolutely chuse one of these two things, either to acknowledge me for your master, and then I will retain you in my service, or else to be sent to Abdolmelik, to whom I shall give an account of all you have said of him.

The Arab, encouraged at the proposal made him by Hejage, of entring into his service, instantly answered, with the same freedom of language he had used at their first interview: "There is a third way you may take, which seems to me to be much better." "What is that?" said Hejage. "It is," said the Arab "to send me home, and that you and I may never see each other any more." Hejage was so well pleased at the ingenuity of the answer,

ALLIN DE

Hegyra 90. Swer, that he gave the shepherd ten thousand Ch. ær. 715. drachms of silver, and sent him home according to his desire.

The behaviour of Hejage on another occafion, plainly shewed what he was. An officer having been condemned to die, amongst many other persons taken prisoners in the battle which Hejage gained over Abdarrahman, the general, to gratify his cruel inclination commanded the execution to be performed in his presence. One of the prisoners, just as he was going to be executed, defired leave to speak with him; and it being granted, the officer addressed Hejage in these terms: " It would be no more than an act of justice, my lord, to grant me my pardon; for I well remember that Abdarrahman having once reviled you in an excessive manner, I told him he was highly to blame, and I have ever fince been at variance with him."

Upon this Hejage asked him, if he could produce any witness to prove his having so blamed Abdarrahman; and the officer named another prisoner, who was sentenced to undergo the same punishment. He caused the person to be brought before him, and on his examination, sinding the fact was true, he pardoned the officer. He then asked the witness, if he had also taken his part at the time Abdarrahman was so loudly inveighing against him; the undaunted man siercely answered "I didnot." "And why did you not?" replied Hejage, with great warmth. "Because,"

cause," said the other, "you are my enemy." Hegyra 96. Hejage gave them both their lives; to the one, to

acknowledge his obligation; to the other for having confessed the truth with so much

frankness and courage.

There are many other actions which reflect great honour on Hejage; but there are still more which blacken his character, on account of the unheard-of cruelties he committed, either in the army, or in the places under his government; so that he was much more feared than beloved where ever he commanded.

As a proof that he had the same cruel disposition even to his death, it is related, that when he was confined to his bed of his last illness, he sent for an astrologer, and asked him, if he did not find in his ephemeris that some great captain was near the end of his days. The astrologer having mused a while, answered, that a great general called Kolaïd, * would, according to his observation, die quickly. Then, said Hejage, "I am certainly the person, for that is the very name my mother gave me when I was a child." The astrologer, instead of saying any thing to comfort him, imprudently boasted of the infallibility of his art, and bluntly told him, there was not the least doubt but his distemper would carry him off. Hejage, enraged at this peremptory sentence, replied, "Since

^{*} This word signifies in the Arabick, a little dog.

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Hegyra 96. Ch. ær. 715 then I must die, and you are so dextrous in your predictions, I will fend you before me to the other world, that I may make use of you at my arrival there." He accordingly ordered his head to be cut off, and it was done upon the spot.

Death of Hejage.

That general died shortly afterwards, aged only 54 years. His death happened in the 95th year of the Hegyra, and the 714th year of the Christian æra.

SOLIMAN.

The TWELFTH CALIPH.

SOLIMAN. Hegyra 97. Ch. ær. 716. Soliman fignalizes his accession to acts of clemency.

FTER the death of Waled, Soliman-ebn-Abdolmelik, his brother, afcended the throne, and signalized his accession to the crown by acts of clemency and humanity, which gained him the illustrious the throne by surname of Mestah-al-Kaïr, that is, "chief of good, or of goodness." He set at liberty all persons that were imprisoned for debt, or petty crimes and offences. And this grace he bestowed without affording the least cause of complaint; for he discharged the debts out of his own purse, and accommodated matters in the other cases, to the satisfaction of all parties. Soliman was not only admired for his humane disposition, he was also remarkable for the foundness and refinement of his understanding, and for being one of the

the best orators of the age. On the very Soliman day of his proclamation he made a speech, Hegyra 97 which, on account of its loftiness of sentiment, and elegance of expression, gained him universal applause, and gave his subjects a high idea of what they might expect from

so accomplished a prince.

And it appeared in the sequel that they He dismisses had not formed a wrong judgment of their the bad gosovereign; the Caliph in all his actions shewed appoints proan uncommon greatness of mind, a fincere per men in affection for his subjects, and the utmost regard to the good of the state. In the time of the Caliphs his predecessors, the governors of provinces had for the most part, like so many leeches, unmercifully fattened on the blood of the wretched inhabitants. Soliman speedily remedied the disorder. He dismissed such as were not fit for their posts, and appointed in their stead men of merit, who were neither ambitious nor self-interested, and who had no other view than the good of their prince and the happiness of his people.

Soliman at the same time resumed the Hegyra 98. design of marching against the Greeks, and Ch. ær. 717. of attacking them even in Constantinople He besieges their capital. With this view he equipped a Constanfleet consisting of a great number of ships, and transported two hundred thousand men, who, marching over Thrace, formed the siege of that metropolis. Whilst they were carrying on their attacks by land, fifteen hun-

dred

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SOLIMAN. Hegyra 98. Ch. ær. 717.

that expedition.

dred arabian ships, loaded with all sorts of ammunition and provisions, appeared in fight of the city, and cut off all hopes of relief by sea: and it was towards the sea the Saracens intended to form their principal at-Bad success of tack against the place. But whilst they were making preparations for it, Leo, surnamed the Isaurian, who then possessed the Grecian throne, sent out a number of ships, filled with a combustible called the greek fire, which threw the arabian fleet into the utmost confusion. The Mussulmen, who were strangers to the effects of that fire, which burns all it fastens on, even in the midst of the water, were astonished to see several of their ships consumed in an instant.

> The troops who carried on the attack by land, were no fooner informed of the damage done to their fleet, than they broke up the siege with the utmost precipitation, to get on board the ships that remained, before they were deprived of all means of safety. They sailed to the Thracian Bosphorus, whence they went to Solernum, where they wintered. But through a series of misfortunes, which feemed to attend the Musfulmen in their late enterprize, the season was so excessively rigorous, and the earth so covered with snow during the whole winter, that the greatest part of the Mussulmen army perished with cold and want. This

This loss did not discourage Soliman; he Soliman; made fresh preparations, and resolved he Hegyra 98. would the next year attempt to take Constantinople, spight of all resistance. The Maho-Soliman tends a second metan forces were therefore embarked on fleet, which is board a numerous fleet, consisting of large destroyed. ships and lighter vessels, which set sail for that city. This second attempt was still more unfortunate than the first. The emperor Leo, encouraged by his success the last year, fitted out and prepared a great number of the same sort of fire-ships as had already proved so serviceable, in hopes of burning the new fleet to ashes. The very winds seemed to declare in favour of the Greeks, for the Saracens were no sooner under sail, than a furious tempest arose, which wrecked all the large ships on the coast of Thrace. The lighter ships weathered the storm through the skilfulness of the mariners: but at the very time they thought all danger was past, they were boarded by the Grecian fire-ships, who burned a part, and took the remainder of their fleet, and all the Musfulmen were cruelly flain.

The Caliph was extremely grieved at this fatal event. His spirits were dejected, and he fell into a kind of consumption, which brought him to the grave. The taking of Constantinople was his favourate scheme; and he had so set his heart upon that enterprize, that the great advantages gained by his gene-

rals in other countries were disregarded.

Yezid-

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SOLIMAN. Hegyra 98 Ch. ær. 717. The Mussulmen become masters of Georgia.

Yezid-ebn-Mahaled, one of his most experienced commanders, had conquered Georgia, a province of ancient Hyrcania. Having totally subdued the country, he left there a sufficient body of troops to keep the inhabitants in awe, and marched towards Tabarestan, to make himself master of that province. But this new enterprize was at first unsuccessful. Akshid, who was sovereign of that country, marched up to him, gave him battle, and gained the victory. The inhabitants of Georgia, having been informed of Yezid's defeat, revolted, and cut in pieces the troops which the Musfulman ge eral had left in the garrisons of that country. Yezid, enraged at their revolt, and resolved to inslict a severe punishment on them for their defection, concluded a peace with Akshid. The Tabarestan monarch, who heartily defired to see the Saracens at a greater distance from his territories, readily complied with Yezid's terms, and even gave him as confiderable presents as he could have made to a victorious enemy. He bestowed on him a large sum of money, a great quantity of saffron, aud four hundred slaves, each of which presented the general with a turban of costly filk in a filver dish.

Yezid, having thus agreed on terms with that prince, marched into Georgia against the rebels, and offered them battle. Their chief, named Marzaban, declined accepting it, and shut himself up in a strong hold,

expecting

expecting that Yezid's army would be de-Soliman. Stroyed, if he ventured to besiege him; but Hegyra 98. the event did not answer his expectations. Ch. ær. 717. The Saracen general invested the place, and in a short time he began his attacks with so

much vigour, that he was soon master of the town, when he instantly put to death all such as were most active in the rebellion. Marzaban and his chief officers were hanged on the spot, and sour thousand of the most sedi-

tious were put to the sword.

The conquest of that province, and the other advantages which the Mussulmen gained at the same time, might have afforded consolation to the Caliph for the ill success of his designs upon Constantinople; but he had the missortune at the same time to lose his favourite son Ajub; which loss renewed his former grief, and so greatly affected his mind, and impaired his health, that he was persuaded all the art of the physicians could not restore him.

From that time he thought of setting his Soliman affairs in order, before he departed this life; to be his sucand as the good of his subjects had been his cessor. chief care, he was resolved, without delay, to name a successor, from whom they might meet with the same regard and affection, as he had always shewed to them.

As Soliman left no male children, the crown should in course have descended to Yezid his brother, who was also a son of Abdolmelik; but as he found Yezid was not possessed.



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SOLIMAM. Hegyra 98. Ch. ær. 717.

possessed of those qualifications which form a good sovereign, and gain him the hearts of the people, he without hesitation excluded him from the throne, and named in his stead Omar-ben-Abdalaziz his cousin german.

But this nomination was not openly made, it was even industriously concealed till after his death. A few days before he died, he sent for Rhaja his vizir, and ordered him in his presence to prepare a writing, importing, "That having the good of the empire at heart, and having maturely deliberated on the measures proper to be taken in order to attain so desirable an end, he appointed Omar-ben-Abdalaziz to be his successor, he being the most worthy to ascend the throne, and that after his death, Yezid should possess the Caliphate."

He signed the writing, and caused it to be sealed before him; and to prevent any alteration being made in his limitation of the crown, he caused the chief Mussulmen to be assembled, and told them he had thought of a successor, but that the person's name must be concealed till after his death, and asked them if they would consent to his nomination. They all complied, and took an oath to acknowledge for their sovereign the person he had thought fit to appoint.

Ch. 27. 718. of the last acts of the Caliph's life: he died at Marbek, a city of Syria, in the forty-fifth

year of his age, after having reigned about Soliman. three years. Some authors attribute his Hegyra 99. death to a pleurify; others to a surfeit. The Ch. ær. 718. latter opinion seems the best founded, as all authors agree this prince was excessively voracious; on which subject they relate stories which are highly improbable.

Amongst other authors there are some who affert, that he sometimes eat for breakfast as much as three roasted sheep would weigh; and that he afterwards dined in public with his nobility, and eat very heartily. And it is in general allowed, that he daily eat one hundred pounds of victuals.

This Caliph was a tall lean man, of a fair compléxion, an agreeable countenance, and was somewhat lame. Historians never mention him without the highest commendations: they describe him to be a man of most exalted and generous sentiments, unwearied in his application to procure the good and happiness of his subjects; in a word, as one of the greatest princes that ever governed the mahometan empire.

In the reign of this prince we have an Rife of the account of the rise of the Barmecidæ, a fa- Barmecidæ. mily which will make a great figure amongst the Musfulmen in the history of the Caliphs. It is thus related: a Persian, named Jassar, or Giaffar, who was descended from the ancient kings of Persia, left his country on account of the civil wars which raged there, fled for shelter to Damascus, and implored Soliman

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SOLL 'AN Itegyra 99. Ch. ai 718.

to afford him an afylum in his dominions. When he was introduced to that prince, the Caliph on a sudden turned pale, and commanded him to leave the room, believing he had poison about him. Soliman suspected it by means of two stones which he always wore on his arm; they were set in manner of a bracelet, and always made a little noise by striking against each other, whensoever any person came near the Caliph with poison.

Jaffar was greatly aftonished at the Caliph's sudden indisposition, as well as at the order he had received to depart. But he foon found, by what was rumoured about the court, that some person at the audience was suspected of carrying poison; upon which he forthwith cleared up the matter: he told the courtiers, that the Caliph was not in the least danger of any design against his life: that since the last revolutions which had happened in his country, he had always been provided with it; that having been long threatened by his enemies with an ignominious death, he had taken that precaution to avoid their cruelty; and to that end had caused a ring to be made, in the bezil of which was contained fo fubtile a poison, that by sucking ever so small a quantity of it, he was fure of dying on the fpot, and thereby depriving his enemies of the pleasure they expected in putting himto death.

This

This eclaircissement quieted the whole Soliman. court: Jassar appeared again before the Ca-Hegyra 99. liph, and was afterwards highly in favour with that prince. Soliman received great benefit from the wholesome advice the Persian gave him; amongst other regulations which he caused to be made in the mussulman empire, he prevailed on the Caliph to call in all the specie, and to coin money with much less alloy than had been used in the coin before current in his dominions. Jaffar was made superintendant on that occasion, and in a short time the money had acquired such a degree of fineness, that in all future operations and attempts, they could never attain the same perfection.

As Jaffar had occasion many times to relate at the Caliph's court the particulars of the revolutions that had happened in his country, and to mention how often he had been on the point of having recourse to the poison contained in his ring, he frequently made use of the word Barmek, which fignisites in the Persian tongue, "to suck." The Syrians hearing that word so often repeated, formed it into a surname for Jaffar, whom they commonly called Jaffar Barméki. From whence his descendants, and in general all fuch of his family as came to fettle in Syria, were called Barmekidæ. At least, so Tawarik, an Arabian author, relates the matter.



M A R

The THIRTEENTH CALIPH.

Ch. ær. 718.

OMAR II. O foon as the death of Soliman was Hegyra 99. made public, the vizir Rhaja assembled the chief lords of the musulman empire, and laid before them the writing which the late Caliph had entrusted him with. It was read over, and immediately Omar-ben-Abdalaziz, whom he had nominated to be Caliph, was unanimously proclaimed, and seated on the throne, where they paid him the homage due to his new dignity.

Omar's love to simplicity.

From the very moment of his advancement, he gave proofs of his love to modesty and simplicity; his conduct was diametrically opposite to that of the first Caliphs of the house of Ommiyah, who were fond of luxury and magnificence. When the principal officers of state, and other persons waited on him, in order to attend him with the accustomed ceremonies to the chief mosque, where he was to be inaugurated, they offered him the finest horses in his predecessor's stables, that he might make choice of fuch a number as he thought proper for so august a ceremony. Omar refused them, and went on foot with his train to the mosque. When he returned, they would have conducted him to the palace appointed

for the Caliphs; but he declared he would OMAR II. not leave the house he had usually dwelt in. Hegyra 99:

Ch. ær. 718.

Some of the principal Mussulmen censured him for his conduct, and told him, they could not conceive why he should refuse to inhabit a palace which the Caliphs, his predecessors, had thought themselves bound to reside in. "I would not," said he, " incommode either the relations or servants of my predecessor, who now dwell there: more especially as my own house affords me all the conveniences I stand in need of."

This modest behaviour of the Caliph, which could flow only from a good heart, was far from being generally approved: on the contrary, the courtiers, who were fond of pomp and shew, were, for the most part, excessively disgusted at it; but he on no occasion sunk more in the esteem of his subjects, than on account of his conduct towards the friends and descendants of Ali.

He restored to that family the lands called He restores Fidac, which had formerly belonged to the lands of Fidac to the them: Mahomet gave it as a portion to Fa- Alians. tima his daughter, on her marriage with Ali. Omar appointed a receiver of the rents of that estate, and directed him to pay the same in equal portions to all such of the Alians as were then living. This favour, shewn to a family which the Ommiyans mortally hated, caused great heart-burnings and complaints; but the Caliph difregarded them,

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OMAR II. them, and soon took a step which seemed to Hegyra 99. be of much greater consequence. Ch. ær. 718.

the curses denounced against Ali.

It has been already shewn that in the He suppresses reign of Moawiyah, the first Caliph of the race of Ommiyah, the name of Ali was folemnly profcribed, and that in all public assemblies of the people, curses were denounced against his whole family. This custom had been constantly observed, ever fince the accession of the Ommiyan family to the throne. Omar resolved to suppress it, and took the following method to bring it about.

> He imparted his design to a Jew, with whom he concerted a conversation that was to pass between them in public, in order to bring about what he had resolved in favour of the Alians. This done, the Jew appeared one day at court, at a time the Caliph was furrounded by a great number of the principal nobility. Omar having perceived him, civilly took notice of him, as being a man of note in Damascus, and asked him if he had any request to make. The Jew answered, that he was come to wait on him about an affair of great importance; that he had a favour to beg of him, which was, that he would give him his daughter to wife.

> Omar, affecting great surprize, hastily answered, "How! what mean you by such a request; are not you of a different religion?" " Did not Ali marry the daughter of Mahomet?" replied the Jew. " He

did, but the case is widely different," said OMAR II, Omar; "Ali was one of the faithful, and Hegyra 99. the commander of the faithful." "What!" Ch ær. 718. returned the Jew, "was Ali one of the faithful? why then do you daily denounce

curses against him in your mosques?"

Upon this Omar, turning to the chief courtiers who were then about him, "It lies upon you to answer this Jew," said he; "for I must confess he has so puzzled me, that I know not what to say to him." The courtiers seemed intirely at a loss for a reply; and the Caliph sinding them silent, said to those present: "Since it is so, I from this day suppress that public form of malediction, and instead of it shall be used this verse of the Koran: "Lord, pardon our offences, and pardon also our brethren who profess the same faith with us."

This extraordinary change immediately The Ommiraised great disturbances, and especially pleased at it. amongst the Ommiyans, who were vexed to see a prince of their family presume to abolish a form which the first Caliph of their house had established, with a view to procure that peace to his descendants, which they could not hope to enjoy, but by depriving the Alians of all means of forming a party. By degrees the disturbances on this account seemed to be at an end; but it was no more than the effect of the prosoundest dissimulation, to which the Caliph, as will appear in the sequel, became a facrifice.

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OMAR II. Hegyra 100. Ch. ær. 719

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The revival of the enterprize against the Greeks quieted for a time the animosity of the Ommiyans against the Caliph. That prince entertained hopes of better success in the undertaking than his predecessors had met with, and with that view he caused most extraordinary preparations to be made.

The Musulmen ag n b si ge Constant nople without success

When the proper season of the year for taking the field was come, he caused Merwan, his general, to march towards Constantinople, at the head of a very formidable army Merwan invested the city, and pushed on his attacks with great vigour. But the Greeks made a most gallant defence, and the besiegers lost a considerable number of men. The syrian general, apprehending the siege would be a work of time, wrote to the Caliph for a supply of troops and provisions. Four hundred ships of war, well provided, were forthwith sent under the command of Dehac; and Merwan received advice that this powerful succour would be disembarked on the coasts of Thrace.

But, unhappily for the Saracens, the grecian emperor also gained intelligence of the arrival of this reinforcement, and took proper measures to render it useless. Leo the Isaurian still possessed the throne. That prince, who from a common soldier had raised himself to the empire by means of his courage and intrepidity, gave fresh proofs of his bravery and experience; and after having destroyed the whole force of the Sa-

racens the preceeding year, he was equally Omar II. juccessful on the present occasion.

Leo caused the mussfulman fleet to be attacked in the midst of the hurry and confusion of the disembarkation. Many of the syrian ships, which was then left without a proper force to defend them, were taken by the Greeks; and the fire-ships having been sent out amongst the rest of the saracen fleet, great part of them were burned, and very few ships escaped falling into the hands of the enemy.

This event spread a terror amongst the troops employed in the siege. But Merwan dispelled their fears, and even prevailed upon them to carry on the works with the same zeal and courage as they had shewn in the beginning; telling them, he was persuaded the Greeks could not long hold out, and that the intrepidity they affected to make appear, was, as it were, no more than the last gasps

of their expiring valour.

But by a succession of fresh misfortunes the Syrians lost all courage. Merwan, finding that all the provisions he was able to recover from Dehac's fleet would last but a short time, sent out a large detachment towards the city of Nice, in Bithynia, hoping there to procure a full supply. But this step proved very fatal. Whilst the detachment was upon the march, it was discovered by some grecian lords, who had abandoned their castles to secure themselves in the mountains.



OMAR II tains. These lords being of opinion, that if Hegyra 100. their vassals would join them they should be Lh. ær. 719. strong enough to attack the Saracens, dispatched express messengers to the several villages, defiring the inhabitants to take up arms. The villagers complied, and joining in a body, marched under the command of the nobles, who formed an ambuscade in a place through which the saracen detachment was forced to march, and the Syrians were

attacked unawares, and cut in pieces.

On the other hand, the Grecian ships that guarded the streights which form the communication between the sea of Marmora and the Black Sea, gave a free passage to the vessels that carried provisions to the besieged; but they at the same time kept the syrian ships in awe, who were afraid of coming near them fince they had felt the fatal effects of the greek fire. All provisions being therefore cut off, a terrible dearth ensued, but they still continued the siege. They struggled a long time with famine, and endeavoured to appease it by eating their horses, camels, and other beasts of burthen. pestilence, the usual concomitant of famine, arose in their camp, and the infection was even communicated to the befieged. The Caliph having received advice of the dismal condition to which his troops were reduced, ordered Merwan to raise the siege, which had proved fo destructive, and to return with the army into Syria.

But the same fatality attended them in OMAR II. their return, as had accompanied them in their Horna 100 sormer operations. They had the elements (1... 19 to struggle with: lightening fell on them, and they were affailed by furious ftorms of wind during their whole passage. Great part of their ships were wrecked, and only about fifteen of the fleet were able to reach their port, and those in a very shattered condition.

The Caliph, enraged at so great a loss, at-Omar persetributed the misfortune to his easiness in cute the granting many privileges to the Christians. Chustians He resolved therefore for the future to treat them with the utmost severity, and subject them to the observation of many customs used by the Musfulmen. He accordingly prohibited them from drinking wine, and eating certain meats forbidden by the mahometan law; he increased their taxes one half, and ordered that their testimony should no longer be admitted in the disputes they might have with Mahometans.

But the great disappointments the Caliph Hegyra 101. had met with in this enterprize, had not the Ch. ær. 720. least influence on his conduct towards the Musfulmen; he still governed them with the same tenderness and moderation as he had shewn at his accession to the crown: and when any disturbances arose, or even any insurrection happened, far from acting with so great rigour as the most part of his predecessors had done on such occasions, he used his utmost endeavours to appease the authors

OMAR II. Hegyra 101. Ch. ær. 720.

Shuzib's revolt, on account of the the malediction against Ali.

authors and promoters of them, and to bring them to a due sense of their duty by peaceable means.

A Mussulman of great note, called Shuzib, having revolted on account of some opinions suppression of touching the law of Mahomet, the Caliph's counsellors advised him to send out a body of troops, and punish the rebel; but Omar, unwilling that any blood should be shed about a difference in opinion, declared there was no occasion to carry matters to such extremities, and that he was in hopes of extinguishing the rebellion by using other methods.

He wrote a letter to Shuzib, and desired him to come to court, and dispassionately argue the matter with him: " If you want nothing more," said the Caliph to him in his letter, "than a reformation of religion and the state, come to me, and relate your grievances, and I will use my utmost endeavours to remove them, without noise or further trouble."

Shuzib had already gone so far, that he dared not appear before the Caliph, fearing that he should at least be severely reprimanded, or might be perhaps even punished for his revolt: he therefore sent in his stead two men of his party, whom he could rely on, with orders to treat with the Caliph on his behalf.

The deputies appeared before Omar, and could alledge no other grievances on the part of their principal, than the Caliph's late conduct in respect to the Alians: for as to what related

related personally to him, they owned there OMAR II. was not the least cause of complaint, and Ch. I. I. that the whole world acknowledged him to be a most equitable prince. But they represented to him, that as he was of the house of Ommiyah, many persons had taken great offence at his suppressing the form of malediction, which his predecessors had commanded to be used in the mosques, at the time of publick prayer, against the enemies of his family. They added, that this step had induced mankind to believe he openly condemned the Ommiyans, and therefore it was not doubted but he would command that the same anathema should for the future be used against them, as had been so long fulminated against the Alians.

Omar, amazed to find that a bare difference in opinion could set men at variance, and drive them to take such desperate measures, answered with great mildness: " As what you require of me relates not to this world, but to the world to come, I think I should commit a great sin in granting your request. It does not appear that God commanded his prophet to curse any person whatsoever: nor does it appear, that we ought either publickly or privately to curse any man, even though to our knowledge he should lead a most profligate life. Pharaoh, who was so presumptuous as to arrogate to himself divine honours, was not publickly cursed. As therefore you acknowledge me

Sent of

Омак II. Hegyra 101. Ch. жг. 720.

Shuzib demands that Yezid should be excluded from the throne. to be just and equitable, how can you suppose I will curse the Ommiyans, who are my relations; who are of the same religion with me, and who observe all the fasts, and obey all the precepts, prescribed to Mussulmen?"

The deputies were silenced by this answer. They then came to another point, which was one of the main pretexts for their rebellion: it was concerning the succession to the empire. When the last Caliph appointed Omar to reign after him, he at the same time named Yezid to be Omar's successor. Now, that young prince being a man of the vilest character, Shuzib and his adherents were resolved to exclude him from the throne. "My lord," said the deputies to Omar, "furely a prince so equitable as you are, will not at your death leave us for your successor so impious and irreligious a man, as he that is appointed to come after you, only that you may perform a promise which was as it were forced from you at the time you were raised to the throne?"

The Caliph, who well knew Yezid's difposition, was moved at their remonstrances:
however, he strove to pacify the deputies, by
representing to them, that the event in
question was yet at a great distance; and as
to what might afterwards happen, they ought
to trust providence. "My lord," replied
the deputies with great warmth, "we all
know Yezid, and tremble to think what will
become of the empire in the hands of such

a prince."

Omar was so struck at this discourse, that OMAR II. he was unable to make any reply. He Hegyra 101. dropped some tears, and resuming the conversation, he told the deputies, that he must take a few days time to consider what they had offered to him, and that he would foon return them his answer; atter which he dismissed them.

The publick was soon made acquainted Hegyra 102. with all that passed at this conference. The Ch. ær. 721. Ommiyans were alarmed, fearing that the Conspiracy against the Caliph, who was dissatisfied with them on ac-Caliph. count of the disturbances they raised at the time the anathema against Ali was suppressed, might take advantage of Yezid's ill conduct, to exclude him from the throne, and perhaps might transmit the crown to another family. They therefore held a council on the present posture of their affairs; and the result was that the Caliph should be taken off without delay, that he might not have time to put in execution the measures they were so apprehensive of.

They executed their base design by the help of one of the Caliph's flaves whom they corrupted. The wretch undertook to give his master the poison they put into his hands; and he administered it in some liquor, the fatal effects of which were foon made manifest.

An arabian author fays, that the Caliph refused to take any remedy to expel the poison; and that one of his friends having earnestly pressed him to use proper means for

The HISTORY of

Hegyra 102 Ch. ær. 721.

OMAR II. his cure, that prince answered him: "I am so resigned to the will of the Almighty Being, and so thorougly persuaded that his decree, as to the term prescribed for the life of each man, is infallible and inevitable, that I would not raise my finger to rub my ear, though I should be affured it would effect my cure."

> This uncommon resignation brought him to the grave. He died, after having reigned about two years and a half, and being in the 39th year of his age. He was buried near the little town of Maharat, in a place formerly called the monastery of St. Simeon.

> Arabian writers concur in acknowledging his great virtues: above all, they praise him for his mercy, modesty, and disinterestedness. He always wore very plain garments,

even on days of the highest ceremony.

Mojushon, an author famous on accountof his visions, afferts, that he saw Omar in paradise, lying in Mahomet's bosom, having Abubecre on his right hand, and Omar the first on his left; that being astonished at the preference given to Omar-ebn-Abdolaziz over the two first Caliphs, he asked an angel the cause of it, and the angel answered, that Abubecre and Omar the first, had exercised justice, and fulfilled the law in the primitive times, and in the days of zeal for Mussulmanism; but that Omar-ebn-Abdalaziz excelled them all in merit, having exercised the same virtues amidst a corrupt and unjust age.

YEZID

The FOURTEENTH CALIPH.

EZID, the son of Abdolmelik as- YEZID II cended the throne immediately after the Hegyra 102. death of Omar; but he did not imitate him Ch. 221. 721. either in point of modesty or prudence. He seemed in all his actions to take a pride in running counter to the conduct of his predecessor, whom he never mentioned but with obliquy, and with a view to blacken his memory. He dismissed from the court, all such as had enjoyed the least share of Omar's favour; and deprived of their government all such as he had appointed to preside over the provinces.

In the first year of his reign great broils hap- Yezid-ebnpened in Arabia, which were occasioned by a Mahaleb ex-famous captain also named Yezid, the son of an in Arabia. eminen Mussulman named Mahaleb, who derived his pedigree from the princes of Laristan, a little province in Persia. Those princes, and Mahaleb after their example, had fignalized themselves by their bravery and intrepidity: Yezid, who possessed the valour of his ancestors, declared war against the Caliph, and at the head of his army entered arabian Irak, where he was joined by a numerous party.

Though the Caliph had not the least talent for war, yet he extricated himself on this occasion in a more advantageous manner than could VOL. II.



Hegyra 102. Ch. ær. 721.

YEZID II. could have been expected. He did not indeed attempt to command his troops in person, but appointed to that office one of his brothers, named Musleimah, who behaved on that expedition with equal courage and conduct. He beat the enemy, and totally routed them. But several bloody actions first passed in which he was always victorious; though the advantages he gained were not always equally great. In the first battle Yezid-ebn-Mahaleb was killed on the spot, after having long strove for the victory. His brother, named Moawiyah, immediately took the command of the army, and made head against the Arabians as long as he possibly could; when he found the fire of his soldiers began to flag, and that they were greatly disheartened by the loss of their chief-officers, he attempted to make a retreat, and took the road to Ormus, in hopes of saving the remainder of his troops. But the governor of that place having heard of the blow they had received, would not open his gates to them; thus Moawiyah was forced to feek another asylum. Musleimah, who closely purfued him, and who had killed him a great many men in divers encounters which happened during the retreat, continually harafsed him as far as the river Indus, where there happened a conclutive action; and Moawiyah having been killed at the first onset, the remainder of his troops were easily cut in pieces by the Arabians.

The

The Caliph's arms were also very suc- YETID II cessful against the Turks, who had over run H 2 1 2. Asia, and penetrated as far as Ade bijan

which is the ancient Media. The same Mus-Su c of the
leimah gained a compleat victory over them, another and drove them out of the Caliph's do-Turks minions.

The Saracens were greatly elated by these Hegyra 1 3 repeated advantages, and induced to carry Ch ær. 722 their arms into the southern provinces of Thymke France, which they entered, after having an irruption made themselves masters of great part of Spain. They took the city of Narbonne by surprize, and made it their head quarters. They then advanced to Thoulose, and laid siege to it; but Eudes, earl of Aquitain, marching up to them with a numerous army, forced them to raise the siege: and continually pursuing and harassing them, he defeated their army near Narbonne, retook that city from them, and finally drove them out of the dominions of France.

Whilst the Caliph's generals were earnestly labouring to maintain the glory of the nation at the head of numerous armies, that prince who was naturally indolent and sensual, passed his time with his women, and left to his courtiers the care of the state.

Amongst the women, his usual compa- Cause of the nions were two for whom he entertained a death of the violent passion: the one was named Sélamah, Caliph the other Hababah. One day, when that prince was walking with them in a pleasant garden



YEZID II. garden belonging to him, which lay near the Hegyra 103. Jourdan, he was diverting himself with throw-Ch. ær. 722. ing grape stones at a dutance, which Hababah caught in her mouth with great dexterity. (It must be observed that the grapes of Palestine, are much larger than those of Europe.) This sport continued some time, when at last one of the stones stuck in that fair favourite's throat, and choaked her,

so that she died in the Caliph's arms.

Yezid was afflicted beyond expression at this melancholy accident. Nothing was capable of diverting the excess of his grief; on the contrary, he indulged it more and more. Vain were the preparations they made to pay the last duty to the remains of that unfortunate woman, in order to take from out of his fight the object of his grief; he would not permit them. He ordered her body to be carried to his chamber, where he shut himself up for eight whole days, to feast his eyes with that horrid spectacle. The stench of the carcase, which filled the whole apartment, being insupportable to all that were obliged to attend there, the Caliph was forced to consent to its being removed, on the representation of his officers, who declared they could not possibly serve him if he kept the body longer.

It was hoped that time and the absence of the object, would put an end to his forrows, but they became more excessive; and he was so unreasonable as to order the body

of that woman to be taken out of the ground, HE HAM and brought back to him. But no person Hegyra 103. would obey the order, and he dared not insist upon it. The violence of his affliction threw him into a consumptive illness, of which, having languished a short time, he died, and according to his own command, was buried in the same grave with his beloved Hababah.

Shortly before his death he appointed Hesham, one of his brothers, to be his successor; and he directed that after his brother's death the crown should descend to his own son Waled, who was then too young to wield the scepter.

HESHAM.

The FIFTEENTH CALIPH.

ESHAM-ebn-Abdolmelik was not Hesham. at Damascus when his brother Yezid Hegyra 104. Ch. ær. 723. died; but notwithstanding his absence he was folemnly proclaimed Caliph; and immediately after his proclamation a deputation of some of the principal syrian lords was sent to deliver to him the royal scepter and ring. And this was the first news he received of his brother the Caliph's death, and of his own accession to the crown.

In a few days he departed from Raspha, a city in Syria, the place of his usual resi-

The HISTORY of

Hesham. Hegyra 106. Ch. ær. 725.

Zeid prosecutes his claim to the Caliphate. dence, and arrived at Damascus, where he took possession of his new dignity, and received the homage of his subjects.

In the beginning of his reign a dangerous rival appeared, who raised great disturbances, and caused him much uneasiness. It was Zeid, Hosein's grandson, and who was consequently great grandson to Ali, the pro, het's son-in-law. So soon as he received advice of Yezid's death, and Hesham's proclamation, he went with all speed to Cufah, where he had then a strong party of friends. He held long conferences with them, and after great debates on the present situation of affairs, they judged they had now a favourable opportunity of driving the Ommiyans from the throne, which they held only by usurpation; and they resolved to proceed in their design without delay, that the new Caliph might not have time to fix himself on the throne.

He is proclaimed Caliph at Cufah.

They forthwith raised Zeid to he Caliphate, and took the oath of allegiance to him. The Cusians, who were still fond of broils and revolutions, with a kind of enthusiastick eagerness, embraced this opportunity of signalizing their inconstancy and persidy. They proclaimed him Caliph, and gave him all the proof of obedience that a sovereign could expect from the most loyal subjects.

As the ancestors of Zeid had fallen a sacrifice to the treacherous behaviour of the Cusians,

Cusians, he ought to have been on his guara, Hi Ham and not have founded his hopes on appear- Ch. 27.725 ances; but in all probability he flattered himself that he should be able to preserve the affections of those people, whose frequent defections lie rather attributed to the imprudent management of others, than to their own natural inconstancy.

Thus was he dazzled by an ignis fatuus, which he mistook for a permanent flame; and he was more firmly persuaded of the sincerity of their intentions, when upon a proposal being made for the immediate raising a body of troops to guard against the Ommiyans, (a step which prudence required to be taken) more than fourteen thousand almost instantly appeared, and offered to follow his standard.

Their offer was accepted, and Zeid appointed generals to command them: all necessary preparations were made for taking the field; and the new Caliph appointed a council to govern the state whilst he should be absent to oppose the enemy at the head of his troops.

All this great preparation served to open the rebellion, but in no wise contributed to its fuccess. The Caliph of Syria was not put to the trouble of taking up arms to crush this insurrection in the bud; that piece of service was done him by the Arabians who remained true to his interest, and he heard not the least news of the mo-

Hegyra 106. Ch. ær. 725.

Joseph prevails on the Cufians to a-

HESHAM. tions of the rebels, till he at the same time received advice that their party was broken and utterly dispersed.

Joseph-ben-Amrou, governor of Basorah, having been informed of the transactions at bandon Zeid. Cufah, caused some strong detachments to march thither, commanded by able officers, whom he furnished with proper instructions. His design was that Zeid's person should be secured before he was in a condition of defending himself; and in order to succeed in that enterprize without noise or much bloodshed, he ordered them to take all opportunities of infinuating themselves to the confidence of some of the leading men of Cufah, and to endeavour by dint of argument or promises to bring them over from the party of Zeid.

This expedient was as successful as Joseph could wish: his offers met with a favourable reception: the first that came over prevailed on others to follow his example. They then began to reflect on the risque they should run in carrying on a rebellion which would, sooner or later, prove the destruction of the Cufians. In short, after mature deliberation, the greatest part of those who had been so forward in taking up arms, immediately laid them down, and promised they would in no wise assist Zeid: thus the party of that unfortunate Musfulman, who had been so lavish of their offers and promises to procure him the crown, refused

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fused him the least assistance to prevent his HESHAM. falling into the hands of those that came to Hegyra 106. feize him. In a word instead of fourteen Ch ar. 725. seize him. In a word, instead of fourteen thousand men who had agreed to sacrifice their lives and fortunes in his cause, he had no more left than about twelve friends, who resolved to die in his defence.

Though Zeid was thus abandoned, yet he resolved to resist his enemies: not that he could hope to escape from those who were come to arrest him; but he chose rather to defend himself to the last gasp, than to be made prisoner, in which latter case he forefaw he should be put to a shameful death.

So foon as Joseph's men appeared he re-Death of tired, with his few friends, to a place where Zeid. he might sell his life as dearly as possible; and he was so persuaded he should soon die, that he cryed out as he was going thither; " I am now in the very same situation Hosein was:" and indeed he shared the same fate with that illustrious Mussulman his grandfather. For having defended his life a long time, with a flaughter of a great number of his enemies, he received a desperate wound on the head which disabled him from making any further resistance. Of this wound he died in a short time, and was buried the same day at Cufah.

Joseph was well pleased with the success of his enterprize, but he was forry his men had suffered Zeid to be honourably interred. He forthwith sent an order to dig up the body,



Hegyra 106. Ch. ær. 725

body, and hang it on the common gallows, as an example to all fuch as were rebelliously inclined. And he then sent an express
to Damascus, with a particular account of
the whole transaction. The Caliph returned him thanks, such as so important a service merited; and commanded him to burn
the body of Zeid, that not the least traces of
his rebellion might remain. Ahias, the son
of that rebel, made his escape from Cusah,
to avoid the pursuit of the Caliph's friends,
and took refuge in the town of Balk, situated
in the country of Turkestan.

But whilst they were employed in exterminating the party of the Alians, there arose another more formidable, or, at least, more successful party, which after several attempts, at first attended with no great success, at last raised itself to the Caliphate on the ruins

of the house of Ommiyah.

Hegyra 109. Ch ær. 728. Rise of the Abassian party.

The party I mean, was that of the Abaffians, so called from Abbas the son of Abdolmotaleb, Mahomet's uncle. Abbas, who
strongly opposed his nephew in the beginning of his mission, became afterwards one
of his most zealous followers; and was held
in so great esteem by his countrymen, that
in general they paid him almost as much
respect as they shewed to the prophet himself.
It is even related that the Caliphs Omar and
Othman the first, never met him without
giving proofs of the utmost veneration for
him;

him; and that when they were on horse- HESHAM. back, they instantly alighted to salute him.

Hegyra 109. Ch. ær. 728,

The descendants of Abbas had always refused to acknowledge the Ommiyans as lawful Caliphs, and confidered them only as usurpers and tyrants, against whom they plotted without ceasing. The Princes of that family had already raised many seditions, in which several of them lost their lives, as well in the reign of Omar the second, as in that of his successors, and particularly of Hesham, whose generals were very active in falling on the rebels. But all their diligence and force were not sufficient to destroy them; they were checked for a while, and then made their appearance again with fresh vigour.

It does not appear that Hesham much stirred himself during these commotions. Indeed, if some alterations he made in the government of the provinces are excepted, historians have not mentioned a single fact relating to the share he had in the management of affairs, that is worthy observation.

They say, in general, that this prince was Hesham's a man of great parts, and an able statesman; character. that he was active, vigilant and laborious; but they at the same time describe him to be an avaricious man, and one who unjustly deprived others of their goods, to employ them oftentimes in ridiculous expences.

El Makin, an Arabian author, relates, that never Caliph was possessed of so much tapestry,



Hesham. Hegyra 109. Ch. ær. 728.

tapestry, or of so many robes and garments of all kinds as Hesham. "We are told in history," says he, "that six hundred camels were employed to carry his wardrobe, and that he left a thousand girdles, and ten thousand shirts."

Notwithstanding the avarice for which Hesham is so highly blamed, he had sometimes humours which put him to an immense expence. He was in particular remarkably fond of horses; and bought all that were offered to him, provided they were good and beautiful. He kept four thousand of them in a grand stable he built for that purpose. In the upper sloor of the building were lodgings for the servants and grooms, appointed to look after his horses.

His stables and his wardrobe were therefore the two chief articles of his expence. As to the rest of his money, he locked it up in his treasury, of which he alone kept the key. He must have had immense sums in bank; for El Makin, the author already cited, alledges, that this prince had seven hundred farms, two of which in particular, were let at the yearly rent of twenty thousand drachms.

The expence of his table was extremely moderate, and yet it was very plentifully served, not at his own expence, but by means of presents he received. Those that had once given, were under a kind of obligation to continue the practice, and if they

failed

failed of their usual generosity, he found Hesham. means to refresh their memories; in doing Hegyra 109. which he condescended to actions infinitely beneath a sovereign. For example, a governor of a place having sent him a large basket sull of peaches, the fairest and finest in the province, the Caliph wrote him a letter of thanks for the present, and at the same time desired he would repeat it. "I received," said he, "the peaches you sent me: they were very fine, and admirably well slavoured: I desire you will forthwith send me some more; and pray be careful to

Another officer having made him a prefent of a large quantity of truffles, some of which were spoiled, Hesham wrote to him in the same strain with the former letter. "Do not fail." said he, "to send me some more without delay; but put them in sand, that they may not touch one another, for by rubbing many of them are spoiled in the carriage."

fasten well the basket, that none of them

It is related to the honour of this prince, that he was a strict observer of his word, and that he was very careful that every article he entered into, either in his treaties with the enemies of the state, or his engagements with his own subjects, should be punctually performed.

He was equally exact in the performance of all religious duties, and was the first that appeared

HESHAM. appeared at the place of publick worship. Hegyra 109. It is reported on this head, that his son ha-Ch. ær. 728. ving one day missed coming to publick prayers, he tartly reprimanded him for it; and the young prince having alledged in his excuse that his servants had not brought his equipage soon enough, Hesham sternly replied; "Then you should have come on foot; and I prohibit you from coming in any other manner during a whole year." The young prince did not murmur at the order, but submitted to it with a docility suitable to his mild disposition.

Bad inclina-

tions of Waled.

But Waled, Hesham's nephew, and presumptive heir to the crown, was far from being so tractable. He had given himself up entirely to debauchery, and shewed an utter contempt for all religious matters. His uncle had often seriously remonstrated to him on that account, but it produced no other effect than to give him a disgust for the court, which he foon quitted to go and confine himself to a house he had in the country, where he led a most dissolute life with a number of young rakes whom he chose for his companions. There he impatiently waited for the death of his uncle, who was lately become very infirm.

The long wished for moment soon came. The Caliph, who resided at Raspha, dragged on a painful life. He visibly declined; and was reduced to such extremity that they thought him dead. Two messengers were

forthwith

forthwith sent to Waled, to acquaint him Hesham. Hegyra 109. with the news, and to pay him homage. Ch. ær. 728. That prince could not at first be prevailed on to believe them. As he knew the Caliph did not love him, he suspected it was a snare laid for him by Hesham, by means of which he proposed to destroy him for having seized on the Caliphate in his life time. But the deputies having confirmed the truth of the fact on oath, he was convinced; and thinking himself already on the throne, he forthwith sent some of his friends to Damascus, with orders to take possession of the royal treasure in his name.

This order was speedily put in execution. Hesham's And when they found the Caliph was not death. dead, as had been supposed, they were filled with fear. However he fell into such repeated fainting fits, that during the few days he lived, he was in continual agony. Being a little recovered from one of the fits, he ordered one of his officers to go to Damascus, and take out of the treasury a certain sum of money, which he intended to dispose of before he dyed; but the persons that were in possession of it by order of Waled, would not suffer them to take it; and they refused with the more boldness, as they had nothing to fear from the dying Caliph. Hesham, who was naturally covetous, was greatly grieved to find he had nothing left in this world. "O God," cryed he, "have I been

then

HESHAM. then only a keeper of the treasure for Wa-Hegyra 109. led? these were the last words he spoke: foon after which he expired.

Hegyra 125.

So soon as he was dead, Aiyad, his secre-Ch. ær. 742. tary, took the keys of the treasury, and carried them to Waled. The rest of the officers without delay preceeded to plunder the house. Which they so effectually performed, that when, according to the custom of the Orientals, they prepared to wash the body of Hesham previously to his funeral, they could find none of the utenfils necessary for paying him that last duty: insomuch that had it not been for one of his freed-men, named Kaleb, who provided a winding sheet, that prince, who was so rich, and so uncommonly fond of having all things in abundance, would have left this world in as great want as the most wretched of his subjects.

Hesham died at Raspha, in the 125th year of the Hegyra, and in the 742d year of the christian æra, having reigned about twenty years. He left two princes, one named Soliman, the other Moawiyah, of whom mention will be made in the sequel of this history.

Fresh irruptiracens France.

During his reign the Saracens made a ons of the Sa- fresh irruption into France, under the conduct of a famous captain, named Abdalrahman, by Arabian writers, and by French historians called Abderame. Eudes, duke of Aquitain, who by the affistance of France had repulsed them in the inroads

they had already made on his territories, Hesham. was disturbed by the French themselves, Hegyra 125. who disputed his title to his dominions.

Eudes, being thus exposed to an attack from the French, and being apprehensive of a fresh irruption of the Saracens, entered into an alliance with one of their celebrated leaders, called Munuza, who was then governor for the Caliph in Puicerda, a country bordering on the Pyrenean mountains: and Eudes so artfully managed his negociation with the governor, that he won him entirely to his interest, and prevailed on him to declare against the Caliph and his generals.

The more to strengthen the alliance, the duke of Aquitain gave his daughter in marriage to the Saracen governor, who promised to guard her against all insults from the Caliph's troops. Eudes, having nothing to fear from that quarter, undertook some expeditions against the French, and was beaten more than once by Charles Martel, who was then mayor of the palace, and prince of the French.

Abdalrahman, taking advantage of that juncture to make a fresh irruption, was stopped in his progress by Munuza, but that obstacle was soon removed. Abdalrahman defeated the governor, and pursued him even to Puicerda, whence he was obliged to sly. He endeavoured to take refuge with Eudes, his father-in-law, but Vol. II. Z Abdalrahman



Hegyra 125 Ch. ær. -42

HESHAM. Abdalrahman purfued him so briskly, and and harassed him so greatly, that he could not effect it: insomuch that Munuza, finding himself on the point of falling into the victor's hands, chose rather to put an end to his own life. His wife, who was a woman of great beauty, was taken prisoner by Abdalrahman, who immediately sent her to the Caliph.

> That general having afterwards entered Gascony, made himself master of Bourdeaux; and passing the river Dordogne, he offered battle to the duke of Aquitain. That prince having made a peace with Charles Martel, might have avoided the misfortune that befel him, if he would have waited for the succours which the French were sending him. But, thinking himself strong enough to face the Saracens, he joined battle with them, and his troops were put to a total rout. He fled to Charles Martel, who had marched with his army to his assistance, and was advanced as far as the river Loire.

> Abdalrahman, flushed with these repeated advantages, pursued the duke of Aquitain, and committed terrible ravages in Perigord, Saintonge, and Poitou. He was preparing to put all to fire and sword in the city of Tours, when Charles Martel, having come up to him in a plain near that city, prevented him from advancing any farther. The two armies remained seven days in sight

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of each other; the first six days passed in HESHAM. skirmishes, the one hotter than the other; but on the seventh there was a general action, in which the Saracen army was al- The Saracen most cut in pieces, Abdalrahman him- army feated self falling in the field of battle. This signal victory raised the courage of the Europeans, who wer now made sensible that the Saracens were not invincible. Historians commonly place this defeat in the 114th year of the Hegyra, and in the year of our Lord 732.

Some years afterwards, that is to fay, about the 736th year of the Christian æra; the Saracens re-entered France, and invaded the country of Avignon, and many considerable places in Languedoc. Charles Martel again defeated them, and re-took all the places that had fallen into their hands.

This warlike people, far from being difcouraged at so great losses, made a fresh irruption into France two years afterwards, and ravaged the territory of Avignon, and great part of Provence. But they were a third time routed by Charles Martel, who drove them out of all their conquests.

Hegyra 125. Ch. ær. 742.

army is de-



WALED II.

The SIXTEENTH CALIPH.

WALED II. HE reign of his Caliph contains Hegyra 125. Hegyra 125. nothing memora le, either in respect Ch. ær. 742. to the Arabians in genera, or to that prince in particular, who seems to have ascended the throne only to disgrace it, by his irreligious and scandalous life.

In his early youth he gave great hopes; and it is related, that in the first part of the reign of his uncle Hesham, he acted with great prudence and wisdom. He showed neither pride nor ambition, nor even any great love for pleasure. As he was modest, sweet-tempered, affable, studious, and a lover of retirement, he was looked on as a pattern of virtue, and his future subjects flattered themselves he would one day prove an honour to his crown, and the darling of the nation.

Waled's impiety.

But all these good qualities insensibly disappeared. Hesham, who loved that young prince as if he had been his own child, had always an eye upon him, and was highly grieved to find him thus swerving from his duty. He gave him some wholesome advice, which he made a shew of complying with; but it did not produce any good effect: Waled continued his irregularities. Depravity

wity of manners soon led him to irreligion WALED II. and impiety; he spoke of the Koran with Hegyra 125. contempt; and it is afferted, that he one day even trod it under his feet, in the presence of a company of young gentlemen, who were the officers of his houshold.

The Caliph, who had till that time treated him with gre indulgence, could not help severely repr manding him for so profane a deed. The prince answered the Caliph with all the insolence of a man hardened in wickedness; and that he might no more be troubled with fuch lectures, he quitted the court, and retired to a country called Arzak, where he resided till the death of Hesham.

There he gave a free course to his incli- His debauchnations, and wallowed in lust and debauch- ery. ery; and this he did the more openly, as he was accompanied only by young nobles, who, either through libertinism, or in hopes of making their court to the presumptive heir to the crown, did all in their power to indulge his passions, and promote his irregularities.

Though the Caliph was minutely informed of all that passed at Arzak, he was unwilling to use Waled with severity; he only sent for some of his lewd companions, and threatened he would punish them most severely, if they were any longer accessary to his leading so shameful a life. But this served only to render Hesham more odious than ever to Waled Z 3

The HISTORY of

Hegyra 125. Ch. ær. 742.

WALED II. Waled and his companions, whose chief conversation was when the happy moment would come, that would free them from an impertinent censor, and raise to the throne a prince, from whom they might expect the greatest rewards, and highest honours.

As foon as that tim came, Waled departed from Arzak, and ame to Damascus, to take possession of the throne. He was proclaimed with great pemp, and as by his long absence from the court, his vices were concealed, at least from the knowledge of the multitude, he was raised to the throne with the consent of the people, and the approbation of the major part of the nobility, who expected to find that prince the same virtuous man he appeared to be at the time he resided at Damascus, before he retired to Arzak.

He renders himself contemptible in the eyes of his subjects.

But the new Caliph soon shewed what he really was. The prince being then fure of impunity, (which is a kind of appurtenance to royal dignity) threw off all reserve and decency. His debaucheries were so frequent, fo scandalous, and so public, that they rendered him contemptible in the eyes of his subjects. Even his own relations could not help condemning his conduct, which gave so great offence through the whole empire. They were no strangers to the depravity of his heart, but they hoped he would at least have preserved appearances; and that out

of regard to the dignity of his rank, he WALED II. would have deferred the gratification of his Hegyra 125. base inclinations, till he had no other witnesses of his conduct than those who were

his usual companions in iniquity.

But Waled was above acting with such caution; his comm n discourse was excesfively licentious; he paid not the least regard to modesty, and as to the duties enjoined by his religion, he totally neglected and despised them; not that he had taken a liking to any other faith, for he held all religions equally in contempt, and followed no one in particular.

However, he performed the pilgrimage to He offends Mecca; and he exposed his character in a the people of Mecca. country where before he was only known by name. Though he could not be ignorant that wine and dogs were equally prohibited by the mahometan law, he carried a great number of hounds with him, and made splendid entertainments, in which he doubly offended his subjects, both by drinking wine, and by drinking it to great excess.

It is an invariable rule amongst the Mufulmen, that women should never enter their mosques, but perform their prayers in the porches. Waled infringed that law, to please one of his concubines: he caused her to be disguised, and not only brought her into the mosque, but suffered her to read the prayers in his stead.

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WALED II.

This shameful action was not immedi-Hegyra 125. ately discovered; and perhaps it had never Ch. ær. 742. been known, if the Caliph had prudently kept his council: but he had no relish for wickedness, unless he could make his boasts of it, and he ridiculously gave the Mussulmen to understand in hat manner he had imposed on them; by which means he himself contributed to increase the aversion they had already entertained for him.

It may easily be supposed, that under fuch a prince, the business of the state must be extremely ill managed: he would have have thought every moment lost, that he must have spared from his pleasures to attend on the affairs of government. He therefore intirely trusted to his ministers, who, in concert with his abandoned favourites, managed all things at their pleasure, without the least regard to law, or the wholesome customs of the nation.

The people Loudly complain against him.

These united grievances raised violent murmurs, and soon produced bitter complaints: they were strongly backed by the Caliph's relations, and above all by Yezid his cousin, who took advantage of these disturbances to form a strong party.

The Caliph was openly condemned for his debaucheries, and publickly treated as a person who was equally a scandal to the throne, and to religion. It was said, without the least scruple or reserve, that his sharneful actions made all good Mussulmen

groan in spirit; and that the courtiers, WALED II. his base companions, had poisoned the mo- Ch. ær. 743. rals of the people by their loose conversation, and the horrid maxims they propagated.

These complaints, which were so freely uttered by all persons, inspired Yezid with the most sanguine hop of succeeding in the design he had formed to seize the throne. He at first proposed only to depose Waled; but reflecting that a deposed monarch would always be able to make the usurper uneasy in his new dignity, he resolved to get rid of him, being persuaded that no person would attempt to revenge the death of so con-

temptible and detested a prince.

Yezid, having therefore maturely weigh-He is flain ed the design, resolved to put it in execution rators. without delay. He armed the conspirators, and putting himself at their head, he marched to the palace, and forced the outer gates, after a sharp dispute with the guards. This attack raised a great tumult, which foon reached the Caliph's ears. Waled, finding his person was in danger, armed himself, and stood on his defence, with part of his courtiers. The conspirators having forced their way into the farthest apartments, fell with great fury on the Caliph, who made a stout resistance, and shewed much more bravery than was expected from him: but having long stood his ground, he was at last borne down by numbers, and flain.

Thus



Ch. ær. 743.

WALED II. Thus fell the unhappy Waled, who is Hegyra 126. represented by historians as a prince addicted to all kinds of vice, without the least tincture of virtue.

His character.

El Makin hath left us this particular description of Waled: "He was," says he, " of a middle fize, fair, and of a handsome countenance; his hair oegan to grow grey. As to his disposition, he was impious, debauched, preposessed with false opinions, and given up to all forts of vices: but he was a great poet, and an able orator. In short, his whole study was how to refine upon pleasures, and pass his time agreeably."

This Caliph died in the 126th year of the Hegyraand the 743d year of the Christian æra, having reigned about fifteen months, and

being then about forty-two years old.

Death of

In the beginning of Waled's reign, Ahias, Ahias, the son the son of Zeid, was put to death. He revolted against Hesham, (as has been already mentioned in the history of that Caliph) and having taken refuge in the city of Balk, immediately after his father's death, he concealed himself there almost sixteen years: but he was at last discovered; and as it was the interest of the Ommiyans to destroy all such as might raise any disturbances in favour of the house of Ali, they condemned him to die. He was hanged on a cross; his body was burned, and the ashes thrown into the Euphrates.

YEZID

Y E Z I D III.

The SEVENTEENTH CALIPH.

that name, grandson of Abdolmelik, Hegyra 126. and cousin-german, to Waled the second, Ch. ar. 743. (the last Caliph) whose crown he usurped,

and whom he put to death.

The new Caliph was proclaimed without the least opposition. His predecessor had so imbittered the minds of all his subjects, that they were pleased to find themselves freed from so odious a monster; and the he attained the crown by assistanting his relation, it was so far from being imputed to him as a crime, that he thereby gained the votes of the leading men in Syria, who voluntarily came to acknowledge him for their sovereign, and took the oath of allegiance to him.

But things were not carried so smoothly The people in the other provinces of the empire, where rise against they seemed to threaten an approaching storm. Yezid was soon informed of the posture of affairs, and took wise measures, by which he allayed the great fermentations arising in the minds of some of his subjects; which were by so much the more dangerous, as they were grounded on the specious pretext of revenging the death of a monarch, basely

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Hegyra 126. Ch. ar. 743.

YEZID III. basely assassinated by a faction, whose chief had by their assistance usurped the throne.

The principal reason he had to fear that the pretended avengers of the death of Waled would have recourse to arms, was, that they were headed by a captain named Merwan, who was formidable, not only on account of his bravery and experience, but thro' the pretensions he might form, as he was descended from the house of Ommiyah. It is true, he was only a collateral branch of the reigning family; but that was sufficient to entitle him to dispute the crown, and even to attain it, if fortune should second the attempts he was in a condition to make.

Yezid extricated himself from this difficulty like an able politician; he did not attempt to argue with the mutinous people, who are seldom capable of hearing reason: his fole view was turned towards the chief; and he wisely judged, that by gaining him over, the rest of the faction would soon disperse.

The Caliph dissipates the rebels, by gaining over their chief.

In consequence of that resolution, he entered into a treaty with Merwan; and after some conferences, he prevailed on him to quit the party, in consideration of the government of Mesopotamia, one of the best governments in the empire, which he bestowed on him. The rebels, being deprived of their head, and being at a great loss for a proper person to supply his place, insensi-

bly

bly dissipated, and the impending danger YEZID III. was averted.

Hegyra 126. Ch ær. 743.

Yezid had not the same success in his undertaking against the Emessians, who had The Emesthought fit to put on the deepest mourning in their reafter Waled's death. The Caliph gave them volt. to understand that he was displeased with their conduct, and that it would be prudent in them to lay it aside. The Emessians paid no regard to the intimation. Yezid enraged at their obstinacy, sent a body of troops to compel them; but the attempt did not succeed. On the contrary, the Emessians marched out of the city in order of battle, killed three hundred of the Caliph's soldiers, and drove the rest of the detachment to the very borders of their country.

It does not appear that this affair, which Death of the was unsuccessful in the outset, was attended Caliph. with any bad consequences; and, indeed, the Caliph had not time to undertake any considerable enterprize: he only, as it were, made his appearance on the throne, and died, after having reigned five months and

fome few days.

El Makin who gives a description of this Caliph, says, that as to his person he was lean, and middle sized, and that his complexion was tawny, and his beard thin. As to his mental qualities, the same author adds, he was a man of good understanding, and that he expressed himself with equal grace and energy. He was likewise a scrupulous

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Ch. ær. 743.

IBRAHIM. pulous observer of his word, and did strict Hegyra 126. justice to all that appeared before him. They gave him the surname of Al-Nakés, which fignifies, "Bad paymaster;" by reason, that having been in great want of money, he lowered the pay of the soldiery, which his predecessor had considerably augmented.

IBRAHIM.

The EIGHTEEENTH CALIPH.

IBRAHIM. TBRAHIM, brother to the preceding Hegyra 127. Caliph, ascended the throne immediately Ch. ær. 744. after the death of that prince. His reign was still shorter than his predecessor's, for he enjoyed the crown only two months and a few days. He was scarce seated on the throne, when Merwan rose up in arms, and endeavoured to drive him from it. It has been shewed that Merwan had already revolted from Yezid, and was pacified by being appointed governor of Mesopotamia. Being possessed of a government of so great importance, he was enabled to resume his former design. That prince, having gained the love and esteem of the people under his. command, immediately made confiderable levies of men and money, and formed a numerous body of troops, whom he kept under the strictest discipline. He pretended that he had no other view in making these extraordinary

extraordinary preparations, than to repel the IBRAHIM. enemies of the state, and in particular the Hegyra 127. Alians, whose party, though often crushed, Ch. ar. 744. rose again out of its own ruins, and was continually hatching fresh designs against the

reigning monarch.

Though Merwan feigned to have the good of the Ommiyans so much at heart, yet he did not scruple to attack Yezid; and he took up arms against the successor of that prince, who was of the house of Ommiyah, as well as Merwan himself.

That ambitious prince, who was now de-Merwan solifirous of bringing his grand project to a con-cits the peoclusion, and of placing the crown upon his claim him own head, took advantage of the weakness Caliph. of the newly-elected sovereign, to represent to the people, that the Caliph, being destitute of the talents necessary to support the dignity of his station, the enemies of the Ommiyans would certainly attempt to destroy that house, and would cause the crown to go into another family: that it was therefore incumbent on them to depose the Caliph, without delay, and to set up in his stead some one of the Ommiyans who had understanding, courage, and strength enough to raise the glory of that name, which had been greatly funk by the want of merit and talents in most of the last Caliphs.

These remonstrances were effectual. proposal met with great applause, and, warm with concern for the glory of the Ommiyans, they

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IBRAHIM. Ch ar. 744.

they told Merwan, they knew not any man Hegyra 127. of the family so fit to appear with dignity on the throne, as he; and there was no need of further deliberation. That as he had under his command an army so devoted to his service, he ought instantly to take the field, and bring about, without delay, so desireable an event. Merwan, who was delighted to find the train had so well taken, immediately began his march towards Damascus.

The Emeffians proclaim him.

As he passed by Hems, he was proclaimed Caliph by the inhabitants of that city, who also gave him a reinforcement of troops to affist him in his enterprize: after which he continued his march to Damascus.

Merwan defeats Ibrahim's army.

Ibrahim was no fooner informed of this terrible insurrection, than he raised forces with all possible speed, in order to march up to his enemy, and give him battle. He was foon at the head of fourfcore thousand men, with which he went forth against the rebels. But the army consisting of troops raised in haste, undisciplined, and unprovided of a good leader, was of little use to the unhappy Ibrahim. However, he boldly stood his ground, and shewed more valour than could be expected: but the brave Merwan easily routed this raw disorderly multitude. Ibrahim, finding all was lost, resolved to retreat, and went and shut himself up in Damascus.

Merwan having pursued him, soon ap Merwan II. peared before the city. He was preparing Hegyra 127. to form the siege, when the inhabitants opened their gates to avoid the horrors of being plundered, and surrendered at discretion. Merwan immediately took possession of the place; and the first step he took was solemnly to depose the Caliph. That affair Ibrah m spassed without the least tumult, and Ibrahim was reduced to the necessity of leading a private life. In consequence of which they gave him the surname of al-Maklu, that is to say "The deposed." Thus ended the Caliphate of that prince, after a duration of two months, and sisteen days.

Authors are divided as to the time Ibrahim lived after his degradation. Some fay he was killed at the end of three months: on the contrary, others affert that he did not die till five years afterwards, in the 132d

year of the Hegyra.

MERWAN II.

The NINETEENTH CALIPH.

ERWAN, the second of that name, was the son of Mahomet, and great grandson of Merwan the first. And consequently belonged to the illustrious house of Ommiyah.

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354 Hegyra 127. Ch. ær. 744. Surname given to Merwan.

Merwan II. That prince, who was one of the greatest captains of the age, was capable of raising the glory of his family by his bravery and intrepidity, of which he had given proofs from his most early youth; but principally since he got footing in Mesopotamia. They gave him the surname of al-Hemar, that is to say "The ass," a name, which did not fignify a stupid heavy nature, like that animal, but on the contrary denoted the vigour, strength, and courage of the general, whom they called so. It was an allusion to the asses of Mesopotamia, where those animals are large, robust, indefatigable, and fit to be made use of amidst the din of war, at which they are not terrified; for which reason they gave Merwan the name of al-Hemar, and commonly used to say of that prince, "The ass of Mesopotamia will never turn his back on the battle."

That illustrious captain, who had received from the hands of nature a noble, generous, magnanimous heart, was filled with indignation when he reflected on the mean pufillanimous and abandoned lives of some of the last Ommiyans who had possessed the throne. Animated with a desire of restoring to his family the lustre with which they had been formerly adorned, he resolved forcibly to take the crown from princes who did not deserve to wear it; and in placing the diadem on his own head he proposed to convince the whole musfulman empire that they had at

last a sovereign worthy to command them. MERWAN II. But by a strange contrast, the cause of Hegyra 127. which is only to be found amidst the mys- En ær. 744. terious decrees of that Being who dispenses crowns, principalities and dominions at his will and pleasure, the Ommiyans who had always flourished under weak, and wicked princes, met with their ruin under the government of one of the greatest sovereigns that ever filled the throne. In a word, he was the last of the dynasty of the Ommiyans. The crown was taken from them for ever, and was placed on the head of the rivals to that family.

After Ibrahim's defeat, Merwan entered Merwan is Damascus in triumph; deposed that prince, proclaimed (as has been already said,) and was immedi-the provinces.

ately proclaimed Caliph in his stead; Egypt, Syria, Mesopotamia, and the rest of the provinces, followed the example of Damaicus: they acknowledged Merwan to be their sovereign, and seemed disposed to afford him assistance to secure him in the possession of his new dignity.

And that prince had great need of it; for he was disturbed during his whole reign by a succession of wars, factions and commotions, which continued till his death. He had enemies, not only amongst the Alians, but even amongst the Ommiyans, some of whom took up arms to punish him for his usurpa-

tion, and avenge the death of Ibrahim.

A a 2

Hakem

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He destroys those that refuse to acknowledge him.

liman, and takes him prisoner.

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MERWAN II. Hakem and Othman, both of them sons Hegyra 127. of Waled, raised forces and attacked Merwan. Ch. ar. 744. They were soon punished for their presumption; the Caliph defeated them and took them prisoners; and that he might have nothing to fear from those princes, who feemed strongly inclined to oppose him, he

put them both to death.

Hegyra 128. He was equally successful against Soliman, Ch. ær. 745. son of the Caliph Hesham who had given He beats So- him battle at the head of a numerous army. Merwan obtained a compleat victory over his troops, cut more than fix thousand of them in pieces, and took Soliman prisoner. This latter had a proof of the Caliph's generosity, who granted him his life, so foon as he had acknowledged him to be Caliph. However he kept him prisoner; and when he departed from Damascus to go to Harran, a city of Mesopotamia, where he usually resided, he carried with him Soliman and Ibrahim, whom he had also imprisoned after his deposition from the Caliphate. History makes no more mention of the latter, who passed the rest of his days in such obscurity, that it is uncertain, (as I have already observed) whether he died three months after his confinement, or whether he lived till the 132d year of the Hegyra. El Makin follows some other authors, and says, Merwan made him suffer the death of the cross.

As to Soliman, though Merwan was far MERWAN II. from confining him strictly, and gave him Hegyra 128. the fairest promises that he would not put Soliman es-him to death, that prisoner could not trust capes, and the Caliph. Inraged to see Merwan on a joins Ibrathrone to which he thought he had a much him's party better title, as discending lineally from a prince who possessed it before the Caliph, he could no longer bear to continue at his court. He secretly fled with a sew faithful friends, and went to a famous Alian, called Ibrahim ebn Mohammed, who had been acknowledged by the sect of Ali, and that of the family of Abbas, otherwise called Abassians, to be Imam or chief pontiff, a dignity in

which he succeeded Mahomet his father. Soliman and his train greeted Ibrahim in that quality, and further they acknowledged him to be Caliph, and took the oath of alleigance to him. Soliman then introduced to that prince the officers who had followed his fortune, and caused him to take particular notice of a famous Musfulman named Abu Muslim, and said of him to the new Caliph, "That I may give you an unquestionable proof of the uprightness of my intentions, I present to you this officer, whom I have prevailed on to quit Merwan's service, in order to follow my example."

This Abu Muslim was a prince of the He prevails race of Ommiyah, who had gained a high on Abu Mus-reputation at Merwan's court. Though he the Caliph. was still young, the Caliph had raised him by Aa3

fudden



Hegyra 128. Ch. ær. 745.

Merwan II. sudden degrees to the most eminent post in the army, and had bestowed on him the government of Mesopotamia, one of the best in the whole mussulman empire. It is not faid what inducements he had to quit the court of Syria, without regard to the interest of his family, and in breach of that gratitude he owed to his relation and benefactor, to whom he was indebted for his great preferment. The influations of Soliman, it seems, got the better of his sense of honour: Abu Muslim suffered himself to be led aftray, and entered into the service of the Abassians. Ibrahim received him with the greatest marks of distinction, and appointed him governor of Chorasan.

Hegyra 129. Ch. ær. 746.

Great readiness of the

So soon as it was known in Arabia that Soliman and Abu Muslim had quitted the party of the Ommiyans, and joined the rebels to sup- Alians and Abassians, who were fast friends port Ibrahim. to Ibrahim; a great number of Mussulmen came to Hunain, where he usually resided, to offer their services; and as he was not in a condition of appearing in a manner suitable to his dignity, each of them contributed a confiderable sum of money to enable him to make a proper figure. As there was no mosque at Hunain, they even built one there. In short, Ibrahim was soon surrounded by a numerous and splendid court, and wanted nothing but a good army to oppose so formidable a rival as the Caliph of Syria.

Ibrahim,

Ibrahim, instead of bending all his views MERWAN II. on so important a point, imprudently shewed Hegyra 129. Ch. ær. 746. a greater desire of appearing with pomp and ceremony amongst the people of Arabia. He goes on a pilgrimage to Mecca, Mecca. and gave early notice of his design, that all his followers might have time to make fuitable preparations on the occasion. He entered that city with a numerous train, a great number of carrages, camels, and beafts of burthen, which were loaded with all forts of provisions. In a word, nothing was wanting that could serve either for shew or convenience; but they unfortunately had omitted to provide a strong body of troops to escort the caravan on its march.

Merwan, who had his spies in all parts, Hegyra 130. was informed of the journey at the very time Ch. ær. 747. it was first proposed, and before it was resolved on. He forthwith sent an express from Harran, where he then resided, to Damascus, with orders for the governor to send out a flying camp of chosen troops, and cause them to form an ambuscade on the road from Mecca to Hunain. This order was executed with the utmost expedition; however the syrian troops did not arrive at the place appointed, till Ibrahim and his retinue had reached Mecca.

The commander of the syrian detachment The caravan had therefore full time to prepare the am- is dispersed, bush, in order to attack the caravan on its taken prireturn; and he acted with so much prudence soner.



Merwan II. and caution, that his design remained a pro-Hegyra 130 found secret. Ibrahim and his train having Ch. ær. 747. left Mecca to return to Hunaïn, the Syrians who waited for them at the pass, sallied out, and furiously falling on the company, who were almost defenceless, they put to the sword all such as made any resistance, and

totally dispersed the remainder.

Ibrahim was taken prisoner on this occasion: Merwan was very desirous of getting
him into his power; and therefore he had
given strict orders, that in case of resistance,
they should spare Ibrahim's person, and use
their utmost endeavours to take him alive.
The attendants of that Imam were therefore
the only persons who suffered in this attack.
For after the slaughter of some of the chief
officers of his court, they seized him, and did
not trouble themselves to pursue the sugitives.

This illustrious prisoner was forthwith conducted to Harran, and brought before the Caliph, who ordered him to be immediately put in chains, and carried to prison. Ibrahim foresaw his destruction was inevitable, however he was less affected at the loss of life, than on account of the disturbances which he feared would arise amongst the Alians and Abassians, if he should die without naming a successor. On the other hand, he was filled with grief to see the Ommiyans in quiet possession of the throne, whilst there were still princes of his race sub-

fisting, who were able to dispute for, and MPRHAN II. even to deprive them of the throne.

Hegyra 130. Ch att. 747.

Full of these ideas, Ibrahim, though loaded with chains, resolved to appoint a person to rount abul succeed him. The steps he took for that Abbas to be purpose are not certainly known, but some his successor, authors relate that he found means to write knowledged. to his brother, and acquainted him with his condition; and they further add, that he entreated him to prosecute his claim to the Caliphate which was his birth right, and in the same letter nominated him to be his fucceffor.

Ibrahim . 1

This letter was faithfully given to Abul Hegyra 131 Abbas; who communicated the contents of Ch er 740 it to his brother's followers, and to all the friends of his family in general. They deplored Ibrahim's unhappy fate, in falling into the hands of such an enemy as Merwan; but unwilling to loose time in useless lamentations, which would be particularly so in the present juncture, they immediately proceeded to the inauguration of Abul Abbas: and the Abassians sideing with them, likewise proclaimed him Caliph, at Cufah, with the greatest solemnity; and that the new Imam might not be subject to the same misfortune as had attended his brother, they raised a considerable body of troops for the security of his person.

During these commotions in Arabia, Merwan was confidering in what manner he should deal with Ibrahim. Some of the Caliph's

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MERWAN II. Caliph's friends advised him only to con-Hegyra 131. demn him to perpetual imprisonment, because that by putting his competitor to death, as he seemed inclined to do, he would run the risque of an insurrection of the whole party. But Merwan remonstrated to them, that if he should detain that Imam in prison, all Arabia would rise up in arms to procure his liberty; whereas his death might put an end to the dispute, and consequently to the rebellion.

Merwan puts Ibrahim to death.

He therefore resolved to put Ibrahim to death; and the only question was, what kind of death he should die: for as the blood of the Imam of their church, was held to be facred in the eyes of the people, Merwan, to avoid being charged by them with having spilt it, pitched upon a particular kind of punishment. Some say he ordered Ibrahim to be drowned; others, that he caused his head to be thrust into a sack of quick lime, which foon stifled him

Ibrahim, at his last moments, made no secret of the means he had used to stir up a rival against Merwan, capable of finding him full employment, and of taking open vengeance for his cruelty. He therefore declared that he had appointed his brother Abul Abbas to be his successor, and doubted not but he was in the actual possession of

that dignity.

This menacing declaration had no effect on Merwan. He confidered it only as the effect

the ARABIANS.

effect of despair, and entertained not the MERWAN II. least apprehension that any ill consequence Hegyra 132. could ensue; but things took another turn. The people The party of the Abassians, far from being rise at this terrified at the cruel treatment which the execution. Caliph had bestowed on their Imam, were furiously enraged against Merwan, and loudly cried out, that the death of Ibrahim must be avenged: that in punishing him the Caliph had in ringed the laws, and that it was high time to restore to the lawful heir a crown which the Ommiyans had possessed only by usurpation.

The party of Abul Abbas was greatly increased by means of these clamours, and in a short time he was joined by a great number of malecontents; who expressed the utmost readiness and desire to march under his standard, and hazard their lives and for-

tunes in his service.

Whilst these formidable enemies of the Zuleimin Ommiyans were making preparations at causes a re-Cusah, another foe appeared in Persia, who assumed the title of Caliph. According to some he was called Zulcimin, others give him the name of Soliman: But however that was, though the new Caliph was a man of an indifferent character, and had not much courage or military skill, he artfully raised a considerable party, seducing the people by propagating amongst them a specious doctrine, and exellently well calculated to succeed.



Merwan II. Hegyra 132. Ch. ær. 749.

He maintained that man was free-born, that liberty was a natural and primitive law, and therefore flaves, and other servants had a right, or rather were under an obligation of shaking off the yoke, and even of destroying their masters, if they resused to embrace the doctrine he preached.

His new doctrine gains him many followers.

Maxims so favourable to the multitude, soon raised great commotions; there was almost a general insurrection of the slaves in Persia; and each man strove to put himself under the protection of a sovereign who set himself up as the restorer of the rights and priviledges of humanity.

Zulcimin appoints Cathibad to be general of his forces.

Zulcimin finding himself at the head of a prodigious number of troops, which had been raised upon the credit of his doctrine, began to think of making use of them; and as he knew, and confessed he was unfit to command in person, he had at least prudence and discernment enough to nominate a general of confummate valour and experience. He had then with him the famous Cathibad, a captain who did such signal services to the Ommiyans, during the Caliphate of Waled the first. For what reason he quitted their party, and joined Zulcimin, does not appear; but it is certain he served him with the same zeal and fidelity, as he shewed when he bore arms for the Ommiyans.

Merwan was soon informed of the disturbances that prevailed in his Empire, as

well

the ARABIANS.

well in Persia, as in Arabia He remained Merwan II undaunted at the news, being firmly per-Hegyra 132. fuaded, that by means of his own courage, Merwan and the affistance of his troops, he should fends an army be able to subdue the rebels. He also found- against him. ed great hopes on his enemies being divided, some of whom favoured the Caliph of Cufah, and others sided with the Caliph of Persia. Presuming from this division, that he might beat them seperately, he resolved to begin with Zulcimin, and attack him with an army of one hundred thousand men; this army was commanded by a famous general named Iblin, an officer, in the opinion of Merwan, the most capable of opposing Cathibad.

The two generals equally pleased to find The Caliphs's an opportunity of fignalizing themselves, army is de-soon came in sight of each other. Merwan's army was stronger, that is to say, more numerous than the troops of Zulcimin; but the superiority did not prevent Cathibad from being the first to attack: the first onset was so furious, that it absolutely decided the battle; Iblin was defeated, and his troops so totally routed that he could not possibly rally them.

This advantage was followed by another, almost equally considerable; Iblin having assembled the broken remains of his army, and received a strong re-inforcement from Merwan, was resolved to stand another brunt with Cathibad, in hones of wiping

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thibad.

Abdallah ravages Mesopotamia.

MERWAN II. out the disgrace of his former defeat. But Hegyra 132. he was routed in this action also; the success Ch. ær. 749. of which cost the enemy somewhat dear, as they lost their general. Cathibad was Death of Ca- mounted on a fiery horse, that ran away with him, during the heat of the battle, towards the Euphrates, and the river having overflowed, he fell into a deep ditch, where he could receive no affistance, and was drowned.

Whilst Merwan was employed in facing the troops of Zulcimin, he was at the same time obliged to defend himself against the attacks of a formidable enemy, who had taken up arms in support of the right and title of Abul Abbas, Caliph of Cufah. It was the famous Abdallah, the son of Abbas, uncle to the Imam Ibrahim, and also to Abul Abbas, and Abu Giaffar. The reafon for his appearing in arms was, that he might avenge the death of the Imam, his nephew, and secure the Caliphate to the two others, by raising them on the ruins of the house of Ommiyah, whose destruction he had sworn. He therefore appeared on a sudden in Mesopotamia, and ravaged part of the province.

Though Merwan had already full employment in taking care of affairs in Arabia, and managing the war actually carried on against Zulcimin, he nevertheless took the field with a numerous army, to fight, or at least to check Abdallah, and prevent the

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utter ruin of the province, into which he MERWAN II. Hegyra 132. had just made an irruption.

The Caliph advanced to Mossul, a city of Ch. ær. 749. note in that country, and pitched his camp The Caliph in the plain of Tubat, at a small distance person to opfrom the place where Abdallah's army then pose him. lay. Merwan having fet out a party to reconnoitre the enemy, he came to a resolution of remaining quiet, till he received news of the army commanded by Iblin, which was then in fight of the enemy. The Caliph therefore strongly intrenched himself, to prevent a surprize, and proposed to regulate his motions by the good or bad fuccess of his forces in Persia.

He foon heard of the unhappy fate of his troops. Intelligence was brought to him that they were totally routed; that Iblin, his trusty general, was killed in the action, and that Yezid, who assumed the chief command after his death, had perished almost at the same time. This fatal news filled him with grief, however resuming all at once He goes to his wonted courage, he resolved to march meet Zulout, and meet the victorious enemy. This step was become in some measure necessary, for he received advice that Zulcimin, in order to take advantage of the ardour of his troops, had put himself at their head after the death of Cathibad, and was advancing by speedy marches, proposing, by his defeat, to crown the victory he had already obtained. Fearing therefore that he should

Hegyra 132. Ch. ær. 749.

MERWAN II. be attacked on the one hand by Zulcimin, and harassed on the other by Abdallah, who was not far off, he determined to go and meet that enemy, who was coming to feek him: and he was the more firmly persuaded he should gain an easy conquest over him, both from a confideration of the disorders and irregularities which commonly arise amongst troops after a fignal victory, and also from the mean opinion he entertained of Zulcimin's bravery.

He is defeated.

But he was greatly disappointed in his hopes: the two armies having met, Zulcimin forthwith made a brisk attack on him, and pushed it with so much vigour, that Merwan's troops were broken several times. Spight of all the Caliph's endeavours, his men gave ground in all parts; and had it not been for the wife precautions he took, his whole army would have been cut in pieces. For when he found the enemy resolved to give him battle, he instantly threw a bridge over the river Zaban, which was in his rear, and by that means secured a retreat, which faved his life, as well as the lives of a great part of his forces.

It is certain that the extream weariness of the enemy contributed greatly to Merwan's safety; for if they had not been weak and faint with fatigue and slaughter, and if they could have pursued the Syrians to the river, they would have put all that remained to the sword, or so harassed them in passing

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the bridge that in the hurry and confusion of MERWAN II. the rout, they would for the most part have Hegyra 132. thrown themselves into the river, and perished in the waters. But fortune, who had still some further calamities in store for Merwan, feemed to favour him in this melancholy extremity, he therefore got together the remains of his defeated army; and immediately caused the bridge to be destroyed, to prevent the enemy from following him. Zulcimin on his part was contented with his present advantage, he gave his troops some time to rest themselves on the field of battle, and shortly afterwards marched back into Persia, firmly believing that after such a blow, Merwan would not dare to give him any further disturbance.

But the Caliph soon found means to re- He returns to cruit his army. Considerable reinforcements Wesopotamia with fresh arrived from Syria, and the adjacent parts; troops. and he was in a condition of attempting to make amends for the difgrace which the fortune of war had caused him to suffer. However, as Zulcimin was retired, Merwan did not think it advisable to pursue him; he chose rather to march against Abdallah, who was still ravaging Mesopotamia. The forces of the latter were divided into two bodies, one of which was commanded by Abdallah in person, and the other was headed by Abu Muslim.

Merwan resolved immediately to march Hegyra 133. against the body commanded by the lieu-Ch. ær. 750, Vol. II. Bb tenant

MERWAN II. tenant of Abdallah, in which design he was Hegyra 133. seconded by all the friends of the Ommiyans, Ch. ær. 750. who were eager for an opportunity to punish Abu Muslim, who being one of their own family, had basely quitted their party, and

joined the Abassians.

This step was not attended with a more favourable issue than the former: but it was owing to a very fingular event, which plainly shewed that fortune was the wretched Merwan's inveterate enemy. The two armies being in fight of each other, the Caliph went aside a moment, and mounted an eminence to view the order, appearance, and number of the enemy, as well as the situation of the ground.

All things seemed favourable to his defign; in consequence of his discoveries he proposed to make a certain motion with part of his troops, by means of which he promised himself a sure victory. But before he rejoined his army, having occasion to alight for a moment, as he was getting off his horse, his cimetar fell from the scabbard, and his steed being affrighted at the noise it made in falling, galloped away full speed without his rider to the syrian army.

His troops disperse themfelves.

The Caliph instantly foresaw the fatal impression this accident would make on his troops: and indeed they no sooner saw the horse arrive without his master, than they concluded the Caliph was either killed or made prisoner. On a sudden the syrian

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troops were seized with a pannic; in vain MERWAN II. did the officers attempt to remove their Hegyra 133. fears; terror and affright had so got the mastery of this great army, that they broke into several bodies, which dispersed on all sides as interest or inclination led them.

The Caliph was a witness to this strange confusion, without being able to remedy it: however he did all that lay in his power to prevent the fatal consequences of such a disorder. He ran up to his troops and strove to rally them; but neither prayers, remonstrances or menaces had any effect on their fear-struck minds; and he was at last glad to find a horse in order to make his escape with the multitude.

Abu Muslim, highly pleased at an event by which he had gained so easy a victory, would not take the trouble of cutting the flying enemy in pieces; he only sent out a detachment of light horse to augment their terror and confusion. There was in fact no need of a greater number of troops to compleat the destruction of the syrian army, and Merwan had no other remedy left but to go and shut himself up in Damascus, which being the capital of his dominions, might have afforded him a sure asylum against the attempts of his enemies.

But to add to his misfortunes, his own Damascus resubjects resused to let him take shelter in sufer an asy-his capital. Being terrified at the accounts Caliph. they received that Abdallah's army was making forced



MERWAN II. forced marches towards Damascus, and that Hegyra 133. the place would soon be invested, they re-Ch. ær. 750. presented to him, whom however they still, acknowledged to be their sovereign, that as they were not in a condition to oppose the enemy, they would not ridiculously and unfeafonably hazard their lives and fortunes; that they were resolved to open their gates to the conqueror, and that he must depart without delay, unless he had a mind to fall into their hands.

> This was a fatal blow indeed. However, though Merwan severely felt it, he did not fink under the burthen of his misfortunes. That great captain took the only step that remained in so fatal an extremity; he departed from the city in the night time with his treasure and all his most valuable effects: he was accompanied by some of his relations, and a few friends and courtiers who had courage and honesty enough to share his fortune.

Hegyra 134 Ch. ær. 751.

He retires into Egypt.

He retired into Egypt with all his followers; he flattered himself that being sovereign of the country, he should find there a sufficient number of friends to enable him to reestablish his affairs, or at least to stand his ground in that province. And indeed he had reason to be satisfied with the conduct of the Egyptians; they received him with the greatest readiness, and seemed heartily inclined to afford him all the affistance in their power. He now began to enjoy a little

little repose, and he must have been thorough- MERWAN II. ly sensible of the value of it after the great Ch. ær. 751. adverse fortune he had experienced.

But the fated moment was come: vain would have been his hopes of future happiness; wretchedness was to be his companion even to the grave. Saleh, Abdallah's brother, who had been commanded to purfue him to Damascus, had given his troops some time for rest and refreshment in the neighbourhood of that city. From thence he sent advice to his brother, of Merwan's retreat into Egypt, and informed him that if he would speedily send a reinforcement of troops, he doubted not but he should arrive there soon enough to attack the Caliph before he had time to establish himself.

Abdallah was too much interested in the Saleh goes to entire defeat of Merwan, and the total ex-attack him. terpation of the Ommiyans, to omit any means of bringing about so desirable an event. He therefore sent to Saleh the succours he required, and that general immediately began his march towards Egypt.

Merwan came boldly out to meet him Hegyra 134. at the head of a body of troops, whose ardour Ch. ær. 752. and zeal seemed to promise him success in Merwan is the enterprize. And as it was the first time defeated. that Saleh had commanded a numerous army in chief, the Caliph was in hopes he would commit some fault, of which he might easily take advantage; but Merwan's great experience stood him in no stead on this occasion.

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Saleh

The HISTORY of

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MR 1 II Sich mide a most furious attack on the Hegyra 134 Tgyptin; the relistance served only to caul the slaughter of a greater number of them; and at last, after a very long and very bloody action, fortune declaied in favous of the young general, who obt, ined a compleat victory over a prince that was con tessedly the greatest warrior o' the age.

> The unhappy Merwan, after having performed amazing feats of valour, perished, together with many of his chief officers: the body of the Caliph having been found amidst a heap of slain on the field of battle, they cut off the head and sent it to Abdallah. Thus fell Merwan, whose generosity and greatness of soul equally appeared in prosperity and adversity. He died in the 134th year of the Hegyra, and in the 752d year of Christ. He was the last of the dynasty of the Ommiyans, which had subsisted ever since the 41st year of the Hegyra, that is to fay about the space of 93 years.

Merwan's death.

> That Caliph left two children; as to their fate authors greatly disagree: it is asserted by some, that one of his sons retired into Spain, and founded there the monarchy of the Ommiyans: and that the other established himself in Arabia Fælix. On the contrary, El Makin says, that Merwan's eldest son was killed in Æthiopia, to which country he had retired; and that the other, after having suffered a long imprisonment,

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Hegyra 134.

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at last gained his liberty, and in a short time Merwan II. died at Bagdat, where he was buried.

The dynasty of the Ommiyans was followed by another, called in history the dvnasty of the Abassians, which owed its rise and establishment to Abdallah the vanquisher of Merwan. He placed on the throne the princes of that name, and secured to them the possession of the crown, by the inhuman methods he used, (as will herein after be made appear) totally to exterminate the house of Ommiyah.

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